EDWARD BLISS EMERSON

THE CARIBBEAN JOURNAL AND LETTERS, 1831-1834

Edited by José G. Rigau-Pérez

Expanded, annotated transcription of manuscripts
Am 1280.235 (349) and
Am 1280.235 (333) (selected pages)
at Houghton Library, Harvard University,
and letters to the family,
at Houghton Library and
the Emerson Family Papers at
the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

José G. Rigau-Pérez

Edward Bliss Emerson (1805-1834), a younger brother of the renowned essayist and poet Ralph Waldo Emerson, lived in the Caribbean for the final three years of his life. His journal and letters are a rich manuscript source for the history of the Danish Virgin Islands (1831-1832) and Puerto Rico (1831-1834). The texts also reflect the contemporary political and cultural situation in the United States, and Edward's search for economic independence, intellectual stimulation and metaphysical fulfillment, in spite of the disparity between his ambitions and his weak constitution.

The principal purpose of this publication is to make available to researchers a digital, annotated transcription of Edward Emerson's journal and letters. The text enclosed is a composite of his writings from St. Croix, St. Thomas and San Juan from 1831 to 1834 and a small number of letters by other persons (when none of his letters are available). The journal is in the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association deposit at Houghton Library (Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts). The letters are kept at Houghton Library, the Emerson Family Papers at Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston), and other locations, as indicated.

1. 'Ninety years afterward': The journal's discovery

Sylvester Baxter (1850-1927), a well-known Boston journalist, poet and civic leader,[1] made Puerto Rico his winter home for several years, starting in 1917. In 1924, he was asked by University of Puerto Rico professor William O'Reilly (1882-1956, a Harvard College graduate) about the burial-place of a brother of Ralph Waldo Emerson who had died on the Island. The question had been posed to O'Reilly by an unnamed recent Harvard graduate. Baxter inquired in San Juan, but "nobody could tell; indeed nobody had ever heard of such a brother".[2] On return to Boston, he asked Edward Waldo Forbes (1873-1969), Ralph Waldo's grandson. Forbes' search in the family papers resulted in the discovery and transcription of Edward

[1] A. N. Marquis Co. "Sylvester Baxter".
[2] Houghton Library, Harvard University, MH bMsAm 1280.235 709 (box 1), Baxter's manuscript of *The other Emersons*, p. 5.

Emerson's journal and letters from the Caribbean.[3] Baxter communicated his excitement with the findings to the highest circles of Puerto Rican society – governor Towner and his wife, bishop Caruana, commissioner of Education Huyke, and the official historian, Coll y Toste. With such assistance, Baxter quickly gathered significant information, and with the Emerson family's approval, embarked in the writing of a book on Ralph Waldo Emerson's brothers, *The other Emersons*. Early on, Baxter even received a letter from the publishing house Houghton Mifflin indicating its interest in the book.

The other Emersons emphasized the biographies of the younger brothers, Edward and Charles, over the oldest brother, William. Its prologue, titled "Ninety years afterward", underscored that the discovery of Edward's journal (1924) occurred ninety years after his death (1834). The text chronicled events in the Emerson family with extensive quotations from letters and diaries, and provided historical context and commentary in Baxter's uniformly laudatory voice. He completed the manuscript and submitted it to Forbes' revisions in late September, 1926, but died soon thereafter (January, 1927). In 1932, Forbes sent a carbon copy of the typescript journal to professor O'Reilly at the University of Puerto Rico, who returned it in 1936. For the next two decades, Forbes had the intention to edit Baxter's text, which he considered excessively long, but was frustrated by other obligations.[4] Nevertheless, the present-day historian must be grateful to Baxter for documenting much ephemeral detail before it disappeared from public memory, but must recognize that he worked without access to William's heirs' archive of correspondence. His book was never published, and the manuscript was deposited at Houghton Library.

2. Previous publication of the texts

Baxter publicized his effort in Puerto Rico; so it was documented in local newspapers.[5] Antonio S. Pedreira, the critic and bibliographer, could write about Charles Emerson's lecture on Puerto Rico at the Concord Lyceum in 1833[6] because Baxter had published some of it in San Juan's English-language newspaper, *Porto Rico Progress* (the Island was officially called Porto

[3] Anon. "[Sylvester Baxter] Finds Emerson letters of a hundred years ago". *Porto Rico Progress* 31 January 1925: 1.
[4] Houghton Library, Harvard University, MH bMsAm 1280.235 709 (2 boxes), with manuscript of *The other Emersons* and letters and notes by Baxter and Forbes.
[5] For example, *El Mundo*, 19 March 1925: 1, 2, and *Porto Rico Progress*, as cited.
[6] Pedreira, *Curiosidades literarias*, 40.

Rico in English from 1898 to 1932).[7] Short excerpts of Edward's texts were published in English in 1959[8] and in Spanish translation in 1991.[9] The letters sent from Puerto Rico by Charles Emerson in 1831-1832 appeared in 1959,[10] essentially in their entirety, and his lecture at the Concord Lyceum, in 1993.[11] In 2006, Ronald Bosco and Joel Myerson published *The Emerson brothers: a fraternal biography in letters*.[12] They were able to draw on Baxter's work, William Emerson's papers and their own (and others') extensive research on the world of the Emersons. The book included many of Edward's letters throughout his life, but not his Caribbean journal.

3. Textual genealogy: Ninety years after 'Ninety years afterward'

a. Original manuscripts of the journal

Edward B. Emerson's notes on his activities in the Caribbean are collected in two archival items at Houghton Library:

MS Am 1280.235 (333) - Edward B. Emerson. Porto Rico - Memorandum Book. This consists of the original case of the memorandum book (about 13 cm. x 8 cm.), with manuscript pages inside. The case has black tooled leather covers; it opens to a green cloth-lined pocket, then an inside cover in paper, green outside, white inside, inscribed "Edw^{d}. B. Emerson". The inner spine has two strings to tie the butterfly-shaped papers at their narrowest area. The pages are unnumbered and many undated. Some are loose; others are tied to the book. They do not provide a continuous narrative, but lists of expenses, letters written, memoranda, notes on Porto Rico and some lines of the poem written on departure from Boston in 1832.

MS Am 1280.235 (349) - Edward B. Emerson. Porto Rico - Notes and journal, 1831-1832. The pages, evidently taken from the Memorandum Book, have been grouped in chronological order into bundles, in folders. Number 1 includes notes before and on arrival at St. Croix; then the bundles are labeled (possibly by Edward Emerson himself) by letters B to I,

[7] Emerson, Charles C, "Porto Rico in 1831".
[8] Gatell, "Puerto Rico in the 1830's," with portions of the journal for April, 1831 to June 1832.
[9] Matos Rodríguez, "Diario de Edward Bliss Emerson," with portions of the journal for April-June 1831, but in addition "Account of St. John's" – "Descripción de San Juan," see Appendix 2.
[10] Gatell, "Puerto Rico through New England eyes, 1831-1834."
[11] Matos Rodríguez, "Keeping an eye a patriot."
[12] Bosco and Myerson, *Emerson Brothers*, Oxford University Press, 2006.

K to M, Z. Bundle C includes pages that relate to the arrival in St. Thomas in October 1832 and are therefore out of chronological order. (I have called them pre-C.)

Both groups of manuscripts are written mostly in ink. The author used pencil on board ship, and some sections are originally in pencil, then overwritten with ink. The pages (variable size: max. 12.5 cm x 7.5 cm; min. 10 cm. x 6.5 cm.) come from papers cut to fit the shape of the book; occasionally they seem to be have been reused for the journal (for example, a piece of paper that had been used as envelope for a letter, as evidenced by the remains of sealing wax).

b. Transcription history

1. In 1925, the second document (349) was transcribed completely, and the first (333), selectively, under the supervision of Edward Waldo Forbes and Sylvester Baxter. The documents are full of abbreviations and often lack punctuation, so a verbatim transcription would present a difficult text to readers. Abbreviations were expanded and the texts were presented in the following order: "Account of San Juan" (an unsigned description of a stroll around part of San Juan, Houghton Ms Am 1280.235 Item 350), followed by notes in folders 1 and A to M, selected loose notes from the Memorandum book, notes pre-C, notes Z. Apparently Houghton Library does not hold the original of this typed version. It holds a carbon copy (below).

2. Edward B. Emerson. Porto Rico - notes and journal and memorandum book – MS Am 1280.235 (576). Carbon copy of typed transcription - N.B. One page is missing: Notes G, page 20. This was corrected by hand against the manuscript by Sylvester Baxter and later (1931 or 1932) by “G. B.” or B. D. Davis. The original transcribers deserve great credit for deciphering many difficult passages in the manuscript. The document is available in microfilm (Harvard University Microfilm 85-2036).

c. To produce the version presented here:

3. A print of the microfilm was transcribed to a "Word" digital document.

4. This was corrected by the editor against photos of the entire "notes and journal" (document 349) and "Account of San Juan" (350) to produce verbatim texts. These were then checked by

two persons: the editor reading from the photos and an assistant correcting the digital document.

5. The verbatim texts of journal and loose notes were transcribed to expand most abbreviations, but with care not alter the telegraphic, at times ungrammatical jottings. Some of Edward's abbreviations are so characteristic and frequently used in the text that they have been retained, as indicated below.

6. The journal, loose notes and letters were compiled. All of Edward's letters, most of those by other persons and the quotes from loose pages in the Memorandum Book (document 333) were checked against the originals by the editor. Some sections of the "Memorandum Book" (not all of which was included in the typescript at Houghton) have been interspersed with the journal if they seemed closely related.[13] The rest of the notes selected have been placed in Appendix 1. Appendix 2 presents the description of part of San Juan in an unsigned manuscript attributed to EBE. Appendix 3 presents a botanical key to some of the tropical plants, flowers and fruits mentioned in the texts, but some are explained in footnotes. Appendix 4 presents a key to Emerson family names and their abbreviations.

4. Editorial principles

a. Rules of transcription for the journal, notes and letters

The transcription KEPT

grammatical errors. They are very few, and most indicate the way English was spelled in EBE's time. Some may produce doubt in the reader and are indicated with "(sic)". Edward's own queries are transcribed as written: "(?)".

punctuation, except as specified below. Did not supply commas, periods at end of sentences, or missing verbs. In many places, punctuation will make a difference to the meaning. If very unclear, have proposed punctuation in square brackets.

Edward's typical usage, such as your's, to day, to night (written as two words); no period after many abbreviations (e.g., St, Mt, Mr, Dr); occasional Roman numerals for hours.

The transcription DELETED

[13] These notes are mostly without dates, and have been inserted after the journal notes for 14 February (Passage money, etc.), 14 March (La Fontaine, etc.), 3 April (Board), 30 November (recovered clothes to be washed) 1831; between 22 and 23 April 1832 (because the notes say "Ap. 22", without year, before "Learn to express quickly"); all notes between 24 June and 25 October 1832, and the notes (precisely dated) for 10 May 1833 and 1 May 1834.

all letters, words and pages deleted (crossed out) by Edward.

repeated, redundant signs or words.

brackets or parentheses for full sentences that are not parenthetical.

dashes written in addition to other signs of pause.

indications of manuscript page numbers, use of ink or pencil, interlineation, position of titles or notes in manuscript, continuation of writing (e. g. "March 7th, continued").

The transcription FIXED

occasional slips of the pen: capital letters in the midst of an obvious sentence; omitted addition or deletion of a plural or change in verb form when a phrase was later deleted; omitted addition or deletion of a capital after an introductory phrase has been deleted or added.

The transcription CHANGED

dashes into commas or periods at end of sentences, as appropriate (usually indicated by an end of a line in the manuscript).

capital letter to small letter when no beginning of sentence.

abbreviations to full words and person's names, except U.S., U.S.A.; very frequent uses of titles, geography, for example, Mr, Mrs, Dr, St (as in St Croix); a few that indicate personal style, flavor, immediacy, for example: Mem, Mem., mem. book, &; names of immediate family (e.g., R.W.E., WE, CCE, ER, MME, etc.).

Edward's (rare) square brackets ([ ]) to parentheses, when used as such.

The transcription ADDED

month, when not indicated in date.

words indicated by ", that is, identical to that in the line above the sign.

apostrophes for the possessives.

commas when pause is indicated by interlineated phrase or end of line in manuscript.

periods when end of sentence is indicated by: end of line in manuscript, capital letter for word of next sentence, extra space between presumed end of sentence and next sentence, period after an abbreviation. In such cases, semi colons were changed to periods.

The transcription PROVIDED

double space between days in the journal.

separate lines for short notes.

indented paragraphs in long descriptions.

divisions into paragraphs when the subject is changed (often indicated in the journal by a double line, " = ", or a line that divides the page).

joined texts in separate locations of the manuscript, as with inserted pages, identical dates, footnotes that are really interlineations, or other indications in the manuscript.

Italics for names of ships, titles of books (instead of Edward's single or double quotation marks), words in a language foreign to the main text and foreign words originally indicated by quotation marks, underline, or parentheses.

As an example, this is the beginning of the manuscript, in its verbatim and expanded transcriptions:

2d Jany 1831 St B. was thus a head
at 5. P.M. havg been in sight
since I.PM. Nevis, St Kitt,
Eustatia & Saba in sight
on larbd & St Martins on
starbd. Story of Columbus
namg St Kitts. We see
Mt Misery, (I suppose) ^3700 ft. high^ but
□neither□ the isle nor mt. bear any more
resembl. to ~~the~~ man carryg
child, than to a weasel.

2d January 1831 St Barts was thus ahead at 5 P.M. having been in sight since 1 PM. Nevis, St Kitt, Eustatia & Saba in sight on larboard & St Martins on starboard. Story of Columbus naming St Kitts. We see Mount Misery, (I suppose), 3700 feet high, but neither the isle nor mount bear any more resemblance to man carrying child, than to a weasel.

b. Translation of letters

When the letters are mostly in English, the sections or full letters in Spanish or French are presented in footnotes. There is no attempt to recover the originals' hackneyed commercial phrases or errors or improvement in grammar, use of accents and idiomatic expressions. The

second person pronoun is used in both formal ("usted") and informal ("tú") manners, but they are translated as "you".

c. Annotation

The source texts include many allusions to family, local and world events, technical terms in law, commerce and religion, and words in at least six languages (mostly English, much Spanish and some words in French, Italian, Latin and Greek). In general, footnotes are used to clarify the meaning of the source texts, for example, to explain foreign or technical terms and unusual words that might be confused with a typographical error (e. g., chaffering for chattering). Many definitions of words in English were found in the Oxford English Dictionary, online version. Quotations were identified mostly through the Google search engine, then confirmed by a revision of the specific text. Some characters or events were first identified through Google search or Wikipedia and later confirmed in the British *Dictionary of National Biography*, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano*, or other standard references.

5. Brief comments on the present text

The journal and letters record a traveler's experience with new sights and people, but also an exercise in constant discernment by a young man who has lost his geographic, social and intellectual bearings. These texts allow privileged entry into Edward's concerns and opinions, but the reader should remember that many of his actions and thoughts were not recorded and that a large portion of his writings was lost. The journal indicates that Edward wrote very frequently to all members of the family, and also, that his brother William, in New York, forwarded many letters to the relatives in Massachusetts and Maine. Nevertheless, only 53 of Edward's letters from the Caribbean are known and the majority (39, or 74 per cent) are addressed to William, of which 31 (79 per cent) are for the year 1832. The preponderance of letters to one brother should not be interpreted as the result of a closer relationship, but as an artifact of convenience (William may have retained the more prosaic, brief communications, as well as those that might have been disturbing to their mother) and as the result of the fire in Ralph Waldo Emerson's home, which consumed a portion of the family papers in 1872.

Edward Emerson's accounts can be compared with the writings of at least four contemporaries. Mary G. Lowell's diary in Cuba, 1831-1832,[14] reveals a very different witness (woman, spouse, and traveler in Cuba and the United States), but her diary offers both confirmation and geographical contrast to Edward's concurrent descriptions. She even meets some of the American naval officers that Emerson mentions in his journal. Sophia Peabody's "Cuba journal" for 1833-1835 (actually a collection of letters intended for circulation among family and friends) describes her life in a coffee plantation, in convalescence from many ailments. The transcribed portion available (volume 1, 1833-1834)[15] presents coincidences with Edward's writings; but the rural location, the author's passionate and enthusiastic personality and the purpose of the letters result in an emphasis on personal health and the sentimental and picturesque, with much attention to children, flowers, animals and local characters. Charles Walker,[16] who sent letters from Puerto Rico in 1835-1837, is in many ways similar to Edward Emerson - New Englander, Harvard graduate, later a lawyer in New York, and also an emigrant to the Caribbean due to illness. Walker confirms Emerson's description, but also provides additional detail. His letters focus on four aspects of life in Puerto Rico that also appear in Emerson's writings: health, religious practices, slavery and the type of government. George Coggeshall (1784-1861), a Connecticut sea captain, in his *Thirty-six voyages to various parts of the world* covers the period 1799 to 1841. He coincides with Edward in St. Croix and St. Thomas in 1831 and then proceeds to Puerto Rico, which he had visited in 1816. They lodged in the same houses in St. Croix (Mrs. Boyle's/ Boyal's) and St. Thomas (Mrs. Kelly's, where Edward notes Coggeshall among the people he already knew, 4 April 1831). The mariner mentions other "American ladies and gentlemen, mostly invalids from the Northern States" (but not Edward) at Mrs. Boyal's ("a widow lady") and most appear in Edward's journal. In Puerto Rico, Coggeshall met Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Mason and was shown the so-called "house of Columbus". As Edward, he was impressed with the dance music of high society and of slaves, and the development of commercial agriculture in the southern coast (Mason voices a similar opinion early in the journal, 8 June 1831). Back in St. Thomas, the sea captain noted the variety of languages spoken by the different social groups, so that the arriving stranger is

[14] Lowell, *New Year in Cuba.*
[15] Badaracco, *"The Cuba journal".*
[16] Scott, "Charles Walker's letters from Puerto Rico, 1835-1837."

reminded of "ancient Babel", which Edward describes as "chatter" and "strange tongue" (5 April 1831).[17]

Coggeshall's tangential view of Edward's environment helps answer three questions from the journal reader: why St. Croix, why leave it, why is there so little mention of the slave trade? Coggeshall explained that in small islands "the air is so elastic and easy to respire, that I always fresh and invigorated by the inhaling it [...]. I say a *small* island, for it is always conceded that small sea islands are more healthy than large ones, particularly where there are forests and stagnant pools to poison the atmosphere." [18] Compared to its neighbors, St. Croix was relatively deforested after many decades of intensive commercial agriculture. In spite of the salubrious environment, the visitor would find "no public amusements to break the dull monotony" and after a few weeks "begins to sigh for a change of scene".[19] The description of St. Thomas as "the very center of the slave-trade" (compared to Edward's focus on landscape) and of the African captives for sale in Mayaguez and Ponce (compared to Edward's single mention of "the illicit trade", from hearsay, 29 June 1831) demonstrate the central role of slave importations in Caribbean economy at the time[20] and, by contrast, an avoidance of the subject in Emerson's writings. An additional subject addressed by Coggeshall is the condition of commerce between the United States and the Caribbean. Edward's texts describe day-to-day problems, but the seaman, with the benefit of hindsight, indicates that by 1831 there was little profit to be found in that activity and he withdrew from it.[21]

Eye-witness accounts from the past are always attractive; especially if, as Edward Emerson's, they are unfiltered by the distance of memory or the demands of publication. Many such documents, though, add little to what is known about a period. Emerson's texts add new information on two specific topics - his life, and daily life in the three societies in which he participated (New England, St. Croix and Puerto Rico). These two subjects, in turn, are part of three great themes of wide appeal: the life and circumstances of Ralph Waldo Emerson; the Jacksonian era (in reference to president Andrew Jackson), a social and political transition in

[17] Coggeshall, *Thirty-six voyages*, 501-506, 258 and 512, 523.
[18] Coggeshall, *Thirty-six voyages*, 491.
[19] Coggeshall, *Thirty-six voyages*, 264, 503.
[20] See Dorsey, *Slave traffic*.
[21] Coggeshall, *Thirty-six voyages*, 527.

the United States that presaged the Civil War; and life in the Caribbean "sugar islands" before the abolition of slavery.

Aside from documents in official archives, there are six windows to the Puerto Rico of Edward's time (1831-1834): the *Gaceta*, the only newspaper, and published by the government; the *Memorias geográficas* of Pedro Tomás de Córdova (1831-1833), principal secretary of government, who uses the word "memorias" in the sense of "reports"; colonel George Flinter's descriptions of the economic and political conditions on the Island (including slavery); *El gíbaro*, by Manuel Alonso (1849), a collection of poeticized descriptions of customs and manners; *Mis memorias* ("memoirs" or "souvenirs") by Alejandro Tapia (ca. 1880), in which these years are part of the author's early childhood; and the few portraits painted by Eliab Metcalf when he visited the Island (1826-1827).[22] The first four were molded to fit government censorship, and the penultimate two speak of a Puerto Rico already considered past. In addition, both Córdova and Flinter were employees of the Spanish government. Edward's opinion of Flinter's writing anticipates those of subsequent historians, who find the colonel's works (and Cordova's) present a biased defense of Spanish government in Puerto Rico.

Before considering what is new in Edward Emerson's texts, it is necessary to state their limitations. He provides the criticism of a foreign observer, whose progressive views might coincide with those of a modern author. Nevertheless, many of his opinions are based on racial, geographic and cultural prejudices.[23] Separately, Edward's comments seem appropriate, but they do not add up to a systematic or coherent analysis of society. Therefore, his accounts are more informative than his opinions. In search of a systematic analysis, the reader will note glaring absences. As already indicated, a large part of Edward's writings has been lost. Besides, in his belief that deep thought and preoccupation would affect his health, he may have avoided the most conflictive subjects. Therefore, the absence of a topic in his writings cannot be directly attributed to a lack of interest.

The most extensive original contribution of Edward's texts may be the description of environment and landscape (what he calls "weather", "climate", "scenery", "prospect"), praised

[22] Vidal, “Un pintor sanjuanero”.
[23] "Few white abolitionists could escape their deep-seated prejudices against the very people they wanted to liberate," see Dorsey, *Slave traffic*, 214.

and enjoyed as esthetic and sensuous pleasure and as a source of health and life. The historians who preceded him described Puerto Rico as an item of scientific, agricultural, or military interest; the poets did not shed the stereotypes of European nature until much later.[24] Edward's journal includes perhaps the oldest texts preserved about the thoughts induced by the contemplation of the Island's sea, its fields; its moon-lit evenings. He does not omit some commentary of ecologic interest, as when he notes that clearing the grounds causes a decrease in rains and therefore makes roads more practicable (22 April 1831).

Edward lived in Puerto Rico in a period of belated enlightened despotism[25], in which local residents could only exercise agency in "the three Bs" - for balls (dancing), bottles (drinking) and betting (card games),[26] while they saw the Island's fields transformed into slave-owning "haciendas" devoted to export agriculture. Emerson's descriptions provide depth and nuance to this well-known image of the period. The autocratic government of Miguel de La Torre operated in an environment of constant celebration, with dancing (from slaves to high society), the effects of excessive alcohol use and enthusiasm for lotteries and cock-fights. The trade in agricultural commodities is revealed in its routines, logistical problems and international networks, but Edward's is a view from below, as a nearly indigent clerk.[27] In spite of the privileges of education, intelligence and evident sympathy with his employer and compatriot Sidney Mason, Edward kept track of every penny spent, and tried ventures to increase income and reduce his dependence on family assistance.

Emerson's experiences provide a sociological dimension to the political and economic system. His texts reveal an important and dissonant aspect to an era of celebration and passivity: the violence of everyday life. Almost monthly, from June, 1831 to January, 1832, Edward mentions some violent episode he has witnessed, heard about, or even suffered, as when his lodgings were entered and his clothes stolen. His description of police procedures is another novelty in the chronicles of the time.

[24] Rivera Rivera, *La poesía en Puerto Rico*, 248.
[25] Gutiérrez del Arroyo, "El reformismo ilustrado en Puerto Rico".
[26] Brau, *Historia de Puerto Rico*, 241.
[27] Luskey, *On the make*.

In the journal, violent behavior finds its opposite in ostentatious religious manifestations. Edward is interested in ritual as a reflection of theological dogma, but also as evidence of the limitations of that belief, and what he perceives as a lack of devotion and moral feeling among clerics and lay believers. For Emerson, violence, outward religiosity and the absence of an individual moral compass are the result of ignorance. In Puerto Rico, at that time, educational opportunities were severely limited and almost disappeared after primary school.

A curious effect of such lack of education, revealed in the texts, is the mistaken identification of historical landmarks in San Juan. Edward speaks of a "house of Columbus", built by him or his companions, a "lone cocoatree" under which the first colonizers held council, and the nearby tomb of victims of "natives" (8 and 12 April 1831 and Appendix 2). As we currently know, the house was built by the descendants of Ponce de León; coconut palms had not arrived in Puerto Rico when San Juan was founded; and the tombs (now disappeared) may have been markers of fighting during the Dutch invasion of 1625. As Edward noted, "thus muddily does tradition flow" (Appendix 2).

6. Work in progress

Six investigators, among them the editor, have resolved that Edward Emerson's eyewitness accounts should be made available to researchers of Caribbean and United States societies and cultures. We therefore seek to accomplish two fundamental tasks. First, we must present the writings of an educated, foreign, perhaps modern voice as an addition to the historical sources from the early nineteenth century. These descriptions form a new “picture”, or a view painted with a different style. Our second task is to analyze the sources for the writing itself. We must examine “the eye” and the hand that drew the picture and the way they formed or deformed the objects and events described. As the new “picture”, we present this annotated transcription of the journal and letters, through publication in an open-access website. To deal with the “eye”, we will accompany the journal with brief essays on key subjects by a group of professionals from different backgrounds. Our objective is to present Edward B. Emerson’s papers with clarity and in their historic and geographic contexts.

We have presented some of our work at St. Thomas (U. S. Virgin Islands), in 2010; Grenada (West Indies), in 2011; Ft. Lauderdale (Florida), in 2012; and New Orleans (Louisiana), in

2013. Our presentations at the 14th Eastern Caribbean Island Cultures Conference, held in Grenada, in November 2011, have been published and are referenced below:

Proceedings of the 14th Eastern Caribbean Island Cultures Conference, Grenada, 2011, vol. 2 (Faraclas N., Severing R., Weijer C., Echteld E., Hinds-Layne M., eds., *Double voicing and multiplex identities: Unpacking hegemonic and subaltern discourses in the Caribbean*); Curaçao, Puerto Rico: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, Universidad di Kòrsou, Universidad de Puerto Rico (Río Piedras), 2012.

Rigau-Pérez, José G. "Edward Bliss Emerson's tri-national diary: Danish West Indies, Puerto Rico and New England, 1831-1832". Pages 65-66.

Geigel, Wilfredo A. "Edward Emerson: the medical tourist". Pages 67-72.

Ramírez de Arellano, Annette B. "Ideology and etiology in the treatment of Edward Emerson's pulmonary 'consumption'". Pages 73-77.

Simounet, Alma. "The good, the bad, and the ugly: a proposal for the study of the rhetoric of *othering* in E. B. Emerson's Caribbean diary of 1831-1832". Pages 79-83.

Rabionet, Silvia E. "The making of Edward Emerson's biographical sketch: discovering the elusive quests of a young sojourner". Pages 85-89.

Mayo-Santana, Raúl. "Philosophical glimmers in the Caribbean diary of Edward Bliss Emerson". Pages 91-95.

It is expected that the digital version of this transcription of the Edward Emerson's journal and letters will appear online at about the same time as the following essays are published in *The Qualitative Report*, an electronic journal on qualitative research, published at Nova Southeastern University (Fort Lauderdale, Florida) and available through http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/ :

The Edward B. Emerson Journal Project Team. The Edward B. Emerson Journal Project: Building a non-hierarchical team for qualitative research

José G. Rigau-Pérez. Edward Emerson's Transnational Journal: Danish West Indies, Puerto Rico, New England, 1831-1834

Silvia E. Rabionet. Edward Bliss Emerson: The Blazing Star of a Complex Constellation

Annette B. Ramírez de Arellano. Ideology and Etiology in the Treatment of Edward B. Emerson's Pulmonary Consumption

Wilfredo A. Géigel. Edward Bliss Emerson, the medical tourist

Annette B. Ramírez de Arellano. Encountering the Viper: Edward B. Emerson and Slavery

Alma Simounet. The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: The Construction of *Othering* in E.B. Emerson's Caribbean Journal of 1831-1832

Raul Mayo-Santana. Nature Writing, American Exceptionalism, and Philosophical Thoughts in Edward Emerson's Caribbean Journal

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Abbreviations

Emerson family members and their relationship to Edward (see also Appendix 4):

CCE - Charles Chauncy Emerson, youngest brother

Dr R, ER - Ezra Ripley, paternal step-grandfather

MME - Mary Moody Emerson, paternal aunt

RE - Ruth (Haskins) Emerson, mother

RW, RWE - Ralph Waldo Emerson, second-oldest brother

W, W^{m}, WE - William Emerson, oldest brother

Archives:

AGPR, FGE - Archivo General de Puerto Rico, San Juan, Fondo de Gobernadores Españoles

AHASJ, PC - Archivo Histórico Arquidiocesano, San Juan, Parroquia Catedral

MH - Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

MHi - Emerson Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts

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Chronology

1796	25 October	Wedding of Reverend William Emerson and Ruth Haskins
1801	31 July	William Emerson born
1803	25 May	Ralph Waldo Emerson born
1805	17 April	Edward Bliss Emerson born
1807	11 April	Robert Bulkeley Emerson born
1808	27 November	Charles Chauncy Emerson born
1811	26 February	Mary Caroline Emerson born
	12 May	Reverend William Emerson dies
1814	14 April	Mary Caroline Emerson dies
	30 September	William enters Harvard College (graduates 1818)
1816	14 October	Edward enters Phillips Academy in Andover
1817	10 October	Waldo enters Harvard College (graduates 1821)
1820	ca. January-March	Edward visits Alexandria, Virginia, for his health
	October	Edward enters Harvard College (graduates 1824)
1823	5 December	William sails for Europe to study
1824	end of August	Harvard Commencement; Edward graduates first in his class and delivers oration in the presence of General La Fayette
		Charles enters Harvard College (graduates 1828)
1825	18 January	Edward begins to study law under Daniel Webster
	11 February	Ralph Waldo enrolls in Harvard Divinity School
	mid-October	William back in Boston
	23 October	Edward sails for Europe for his health
1826	July	Edward, in France, spends four days at General La Fayette's country house (La Grange)
	September	William moves to New York to apprentice as a lawyer
	19 October	Edward returns from Europe
	25 November	Ralph Waldo visits South Carolina and Florida for his health
1827	3 June	Ralph Waldo returns to Boston
1828	25 May	Edward suffers a nervous breakdown
	2 July - 6 December	Edward hospitalized at McLean Asylum

1829	9 January	Edward moves to Concord to study law
	30 September	Wedding of Ralph Waldo and Ellen Tucker
	before November	Edward moves to New York
1830	12 December	Sails for St. Croix for his health
1831	2 January	Beginning of Edward's journal, before arrival at St. Croix
	21 January	Moves to estate Mount Victory
	1 February	Returns to Fredericksted
	8 February	Ellen Tucker (wife of Ralph Waldo) dies
	4 April	Edward sails for St. Thomas
	6 April	Arrives in San Juan, Puerto Rico
	2 May	Agrees to work for Mr. Sidney Mason
	8 June	Meets Winthrop Cunningham
	June	Celebrations for holidays: 13 June, San Antonio; 24 June, San Juan; 29 June, San Pedro
	18-19 June	Meets Gregorio Medina, George Flinter, José R. Fernández
	June-October	Reads *Don Quijote*, Part I (in Spanish)
	26 August	Ceremony of Last Rites for José Dorado (died 18 September)
	3 October	Witnesses vespers of St. Francis
	1 November	Discovery of burglary in Edward's quarters (most of clothing taken); a quarter of items recovered on 29 November
	22 November	Winthrop Cunningham sails for Boston
	22 December	Charles arrives in San Juan, for his health
1832	16 or 17 January	Charles moves to Hacienda Santa Bárbara in Bayamón
	26 February	Edward attends concert by Mr. and Mrs. William Pearman at newly opened municipal theater
	10 April	Charles sails from San Juan to New York
	15-22 April	Holy Week ceremonies in San Juan
	30 July	Edward sails from San Juan to New York
	6 October	Sails from Boston to St. Thomas, begins poem "The last farewell"
	26 October	Arrives in St. Thomas

	2 November	Arrives in San Juan
	25 December	Ralph Waldo sails for Europe
1833	10 May	Edward renews his agreement with Mr. Mason
	ca. June-November	In charge of consular affairs while Sidney Mason travels
	7 October	Ralph Waldo arrives in New York
	3 December	William marries Susan W. Haven
	December	Edward ill
1834	ca. January-February	Edward ill; recovers
	1 May	Edward renews his agreement with Mr. Mason
	ca. 10 September	Edward ill
	1 October	Edward dies in San Juan
	ca. 15 October	William receives Sidney Mason's letters with news of Edward's illness and death
1836	9 May	Charles dies in New York
1853	16 November	Ruth Haskins Emerson dies
1859	27 May	Bulkeley Emerson dies
1863	1 May	Mary Moody Emerson dies
1868	13 September	William Emerson dies
1872	24 July	Fire in Ralph Waldo's house consumes a portion of family documents
1882	27 April	Ralph Waldo dies
1924-1925		Discovery and transcription of Edward Emerson's journal and letters from the Caribbean

THE CARIBBEAN JOURNAL AND LETTERS, 1831-1834

1831: ARRIVAL

January 1831

Notes before & on arrival at St. Croix[1]

St Barts [Rough pencil sketch of profile of island]

2d January 1831 St Barts was thus ahead at 5 P.M. having been in sight since 1 PM. Nevis, St Kitt, Eustatia & Saba in sight on larboard & St Martins on starboard. Story of Columbus naming St Kitts. We see Mount Misery, (I suppose), 3700 feet high, but neither the isle nor mount bear any more resemblance to man carrying child, than to a weasel.[2]

Anguilla also is seen to the right of St Martins, noted for coffee.

[Rough pencil sketch of profile of island]

Saba was thus astern of our larboard quarter on morning of January 3 & I sat on deck from 5½ looking at day as it came up behind that little island. The air like that of a June evening or May morning in New England & the sky as usually of late such as Italians might[3] admire & such as poets try to paint, i.e., needing nought, full prodigal of beautiful clouds & colors & combinations, & every moment altering its complexion, (darkening or kindling some group or region, offering new shade or light.) St Eustatia & St Martins are also seen astern.

Note that Capt tells me Saba is quasi all a rock (& here too lest I forget it that at St Thomas there are two castles called Bluebeards & Blackbeard from the two pirates who built them, having been long confederate, they fell at variance &c.[4] Every 5 feet in height commands 1 mile more in sight.)

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[1] In the left margin: "The first 8 pages sent to Mother in letter 10 July"

[2] Presumably the island was said to look like a man carrying a child, which suggested the name of St. Christopher, reputed to have carried the child Jesus on his shoulders.

[3] In manuscript, "mt."

[4] Both forts were built by the Danish government in the late seventeenth century.

12 noon[5] January 3. St Croix could be seen from deck, right ahead & after dinner appeared thus, [Rough pencil sketch of profile of island] not exhibiting so perfectly as some of these islands have the hay mow shape, e.g., St Martins, & at greatest distance, Nevis &c.

Parenthese

Our coming thus from the eastward towards these islands is the consequence of our having such winds at first as to make it expedient to work up our longitude before our latitude & then a calm of near a week exposed us probably to an easterly current so that we were in 59 or 60 west latitude, St Croix lying in 64 50.

At 3 PM. St Croix appeared like a cluster of a dozen or two of hills, peaked enough & black enough to be believed old volcanoes, if that were the case (*de quo nescio*)[6] but not lofty. One little islet to the north with shoal water innavigable separating it from the main island. Other islands are seen off our starboard bow at a distance called St Johns, Tortola &c belonging to the same group of Virgin Islands with Sts Croix & Thomas. This group lies in about 65 West Latitude & between Porto Rico & Anegada Channel, St Croix being the southmost. We are bound to the west end of St Croix & so passing Christianstad shall sail in to Frederickstad which names I suppose are smooth to Danish ears.

We were near enough abreast of St. Croix at close of day to discern a windmill in motion (with spy glass) & to see with naked eye the shrubbery that covers the hills at the east end. These hills show rather more round than when first seen. The brush wood is now & then interrupted by patches of smooth green. *Che bellezza*[7] to those who come from green seas. Before 8 PM we saw the lights in the houses at Bass end (Christianstad). Not being provided with directions for the harbor our captain could not venture to enter by night & so shortened sail & lay off & on.

In morning January 4. we were in *statu quo* but with an opportunity of seeing the town of Christiansted & whole of the north side of St. Croix to advantage. Seen thus

[5] In manuscript, "M".
[6] Latin – of which I do not know.
[7] Italian – what beauty!

the island is a curious chain of hills or bunches reminding one of the description formerly given of the sea serpent. Each hill appears to be itself a collection of lesser hills, as a sea is of waves. Tho at the distance of 5 miles the aspect of fertility & cultivation is not to be mistaken. Here & there a windmill is revealing the industry of some early risers for it is just sunrise. I like to see their open arms they always look like acquaintance. No matter who is taking the toll. (sic) I remember them all with pleasure, at Newport, at Montreal, in Holland, & even the solitary one in that corner of Boston early dreaded & so rarely visited, as being near the region of round pointers.[8]

The town of Christiansted lies on the shore at the foot of the range of hills. The land immediately to the west of this seems to be much more cleared & free from the brush which gives some of the hills so lugubrious a face. I see no forests & but few trees; but some conformations of hilly ground that possess the surpassing beauty of nature's moulding & need no tree, no house to decorate their elegant undulations. Still I know not how much even these owe to the picturesque variety of color caused by the interspersing of well defined strips of light green where the land I take it is cultivated with the darker verdure of the brush. This light green the Captain tells me is the sugar ground & I know a lady who is a kinswoman that would say it lies most sweetly on the slopes of the hills.

The residences of proprietors of some half dozen plantations we can clearly distinguish by the little cluster of huts disposed about the house & usually a windmill & the appearance of trees &c.– At nine AM we were sailing close along side & the cocoa trees[9] along the margin formed the only fence to some fine plantations which had enough of beauty & fertility to make a reasoning & tasteful & good man happy. Two houses seemed formed with two stories & arched windows, perhaps with piazzas[10] behind these.

The first man whose voice we heard was a negro fishing who gave us a seasonable word as to our course round the westerly point; after we had doubled this,

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[8] Overwritten in ink:]Sent preceding to Mother & the rest by letter of which copy is in manifold. Manifold - a special thin paper, or probably, here, a booklet of such paper, that could be used with carbon paper for making multiple copies of a text.

[9] Emerson calls coconut trees "cocoa trees".

[10] Piazza - Italian for "square"; in New England and in southeastern states, the verandah or porch of a house.

we came in sight of shipping in good anchorage amongst which we soon took our own station.– We were visited by a civil custom house officer & directed to report ourselves at the fort; I accompanied the Captain, & observed that the questions of the clerk or official at the castle were in miserable English & that the answer of the Captain to the question What do you bring in your vessel? - "staves & hoop poles" seemed quite to puzzle the Danes. Leaving the fort we met Mr Deforest who had just arrived here from N.Y. after a most disastrous voyage & Mr David Rogers who undertook in a friendly manner to aid me in getting lodgings, which are here prized at 10 to 14$.

7 PM. I am fixed for present at Mrs Boyle's & have seen a little specimen of West Indian living not in its luxury but in its comfort.[11] In my walk to the house I was glad to see that nature does not disappoint so sadly as art, & that the cocoa & the cabbage tree & the [blank in MS] are as beautiful to the eye as the descriptions and pictures are exciting to the imagination, & I felt it almost as a rudeness in some little frolicking boys, when they were roughly handling the curious leaves of one of these new vegetable acquaintances. The orange the banana the plantain the shaddoc I have already tasted & they all were pleasant food, but the plantain least palatable to me. The shaddock if eaten by a blindfold person would be thought a bitter orange. It is sweet, acid & bitter.

From the window I was shown an estate called "Prosperity." & shall hear more such names, it was said.- The whole structure of the house is of course adapted for relief from heat & light, full of windows & draughts & at first I think as terrible to an invalid as any contrivance could make it, but he grows bold & the climate grows kindly & perhaps he gets well by some of the many remedies which nature here holds to every sense.

The West India young men if I may judge by the 2 or 3 that I have seen are elegant & almost fascinating in the general expression, mien & accent. The negroes hitherto seen & they may be several score have appeared happy & well clad. The old

[11] In 1846 Mary Boyle owned 58 Queen Street in Frederiksted, where she lived and rented rooms; information, apparently from a census, provided by the late Robert Johnson, St. Croix, 1 October 2010. The plot, now vacant, occupies the south west corner of the intersection of Queen and Hill streets, 3 blocks from the seashore.

hideous & some sickly.– Those attached to our house seem excellent servants & but ill at peace when by themselves; at least high words have been ringing about the window.

Sally brings in now a blanket to know if perchance I should want it, & truly the bed is arranged with a single sheet for a covering - wherefore I say yes to a blanket. Cold water is in a tub by my table, a musquitoe bar over the bed, & the song in my ears.[12]

January 5.[13] Blistered[14] – dressed after 10 hours with heart of banana leaf instead of cerate[15] – more painful in first application more easy after a night's continuance than the cerate dressing – one side of the leaf said to draw & other to heal.

This day as good as any for noticing hours of meals – Breakfast was served about 8-9, a call to luncheon at 12 & dinner somewhere about 4½. Tea at 7½.

The banana may take rank with fig & peach for lusciousness.

Note heavy showers & thunder in morning & rainy all day.

Notes

Story of the dead woman who had begged a kettle of water as causing this rain.

Dialect of negro servants a complete English patois with a droll voluble sing-song manner.

Danish paper money 16 signatures preclude forgery. The coin has undergone changes which have filled the pockets with a variety of little stivers &c like the crazie[16] &c in Italy.

I changed a ¼$ into 7 coins, 3 of which were Danish American skillings with C VII on one side & D. G. Dan. Nor. van Got. Rex around it, on the other a ship with 1767

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[12] Overwritten in red ink:]All sent home:
Mosquito bar - a curtain or sheet of thin cloth, tucked around a framework or bedding, that bars mosquitoes and admits air.

[13] There are two sets of notes for January 5 and 6, 1831 - one labeled "In extenso", placed at end of notes bundle B, and the other, placed at the beginning of notes C, which consists of jottings and a list of items. They have been placed here in the probable order of writing: first the jottings, then "in extenso".

[14] Blistering - a medical procedure that produced a fluid-filled swelling (blister) on the skin, through diverse methods. Originally thought to correct the balance of body humors, by 1830 it was used as a general stimulant, and "counter irritant", to stimulate the vascular and nervous tissues in adjacent anatomical areas.

[15] Cerate - stiff ointment made with wax, lard or oil, and other ingredients.

[16] Italian - copper coin in Tuscany; name derived from the German *kreutzer*.

under it & Danske Americansk M. XII Skill. around it.[17] 15 of these make a dollar so the balance of my quarter was made up by 4 stivers (of which 6 are equal to 8 cents or 1 bit & pieces of eight[18] are of 8 bits: = 64 cents.

Note the construction & furniture of houses

Note 10 vessels in harbor, again 12 - again 15

Sugar just beginning

No molasses in common use

Guavaberry

Marriage license costs $ 32

Saw *Frugal Housewife* by Mrs Child.[19] Note 1 spoonful arrowroot, mix in cold water, put into pint of boiling water in which sugar is already dissolved & boiled 3 or 4 minutes. Sago[20] soaked 1 hour in cold water then simmered & sugar added, wine added.

Star apple & fig in private gardens but not sold.

Abundance of fish

Cocks - Dogs.

(In extenso) 5 January I was confined to the house by a rainy day & a blister. The dressing of this last with the banana leaf was new to me & I think much better than our mode for I was able to walk out with comfort on the morning of the 6th.

[January 6] Chance led me directly into the graveyard where some victims to consumption were laid who had come hither from New York a Mrs Barrell æ[21] 19 & a

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[17] Twelve skilling coin, D(ei)G(ratia) REX DAN(iae) NOR(vegiae) VAN(dalorium) GOT(orum) - By the grace of God, King of Denmark, Norway, the Wends (Vandals) and the Goths; Dansk Amerik(ansk) M(ynt) - Danish American coinage. Image in American Numismatic Society website, http://www.amnumsoc.org/search/results?q=category_facet:%28+%22L1|Colonial%22%20+%22L2|Danish%22%29%20AND%20imagesavailable:true

[18] Pieces of eight - Spanish pesos, composed of 8 reales.

[19] Child, Lydia M. (1802-1880). *The frugal housewife: dedicated to those who are not afraid of economy*. Boston: Marsh & Capen, 1829. Eighth edition (1832), retitled *The American Frugal Housewife*, available in digital format in http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13493/13493.txt. The recipe for Sago Jelly: The sago should be soaked in cold water an hour, and washed thoroughly; simmered with lemon-peel and a few cloves. Add wine and loaf sugar when nearly done; and let it all boil together a few minutes.

[20] Sago - edible starch prepared from the pith of the trunks of several palms (genus *Metroxylon*) and cycads.

[21] Latin - *aetatis* = age

minister æ. 32.[22] Afterward I passed by a garden wall over which was seen the cabbage-tree so eminent for beauty; if I remember well the description of this tree, these were but young & perhaps indifferent specimens for it is represented as lofty yet these were of surpassing sheen & gracefulness. Two popes heads surmounted the gate-posts of which I am too poor a botanist to give any other account than that they resembled a mitre in size & a thistle somewhat in complexion &c.-

I walked to the shore & looked out again on the broad ocean which is truly a glorious sight to one who views it in security from an island like this, untossed & unterrified.-

I am pleased with the appearance of subordination and tranquillity that prevails among the blacks & have as yet felt no shudder at what of domestic government has come under my eye.

The taste of a new fruit is in some sort like the notion I have the pleasure of getting a new sense, & so I should dissemble if I did not mention such things. The soursop is a sort of melon having dark seeds like our watermelon but differing in taste, being quite acid & in consistency of the pulp which remains in the mouth after the juice is sucked. This is very agreeable if taken in small quantity early in the morning and is said to be recommended to invalids especially the febrile.– The Guava berry was added to our dessert to day; it is of a dark color resembling very nearly in size & hue our rum cherry & has a seed about as large as the cherry stone. It is quite aromatic in its taste & stains the lips like a whortleberry. There is another guava with a fruit as large as the peach, from which the jelly is prepared. It was said at table that a delicious fruit called star apple was in the gardens of some gentlemen here, but never for sale & that the same was true of figs.- I passed in my walk a tamarind tree large & spreading & picked up beneath it one of the pods in which 4 or 5 tamarinds lay like beans, only connected by that fibrous substance which we always see adhering to them.[23]

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[22] The tombs of Mary Augusta Taylor (wife of Joseph Barrell), who died on 13 December 1824, and Rev. Paschal Neilson Strong, who died on 7 April 1825, among those of several other visiting invalids, may still be seen in the cemetery of St. Paul's Anglican Church in Fredericksted, St. Croix.

[23] In spite of Edward's comments, fruit seems to have been scarce in St. Croix, at least for the general population; see Jensen, *For the health*, 180.

I suppose I should find plenty of occupation if I had been a botanist for if I may judge by a few blossoms Flora in Santa Cruz has some ornaments which she does not wear in the North.– The sugar field is quite the same thing with a corn field to the eye. The cocoa tree is like none we have, & the disposition of the fruit about the head of the trunk & such force has use altogether new to me that this & some other trees & plants often strike me in the light of rarities & sometimes of deformities even here where they are natural. The abundance of the trees in gardens & close to the settlements & houses, causes the place to appear very much more agreeable on shore than at sea in that regard, since the huge hills that compose the bulk of the island are treeless. I must ask the reason of this arrangement. It seems however natural enough that the profit of sugar cane should divert attention from taller but less lucrative plants.
Thermometer 6th January at 77 in shade. PM In letter mem.[24] West End

7 January sea beach, negro boy 'eat' visit to Dr Channing[25] road &c. peas.
Lent Mr R [Rogers?] 2 bits (old). Dr Osgood at Havanna lets rooms &c. Mr Fellows there.

Thermometer at 79 on 8th January

9th January Church &c. Reader & audience; proportion of slaves &c
7 in our family Easy labor
politeness of inhabitants, tone &c.
string beans R. shells. 20¢ to $1. qu. [quart?] 50¢ per 100.
Messrs Winslow & Waldo.

10th January Dr Channing called. Dr Channing's habits & manners, early rising.

11th January beach again - negro cottage shells price of shoes $2.50 – flowers

[24] Mem. – abbreviation of Memorandum, indicating something to be remembered.
[25] Channing, Dr. William Ellery (1740-1842), Unitarian preacher, author of progressive sermons and writings on humanitarianism, tolerance in religion, opposition to slavery, and education, among others. From comments later on, the Channings seem to reside at estate Mount Victory.

sapodilla = baked pear
passport expedited Mrs Ridley

12th January rode out in morning, between showers visited 2 estates tasted molasses, saw sugar boiled &c
fruit - dates pineapple flower want of walls
extravagance of proprietors & loss of wealth.
Walked down town AM.-
Showers come as was said "easily" here - Fellow boarder counted 9 one forenoon & between them the weather is fine.- More rain is said to have fallen this year than during any for 40 on this island which often suffers drot. The water used in family is rain, strained into large jar & thence the little table jars filled by a ladle.-
Some birds pointed out called black witches.- [26]
We got the papers U.S. to 27th December last night & the English news...
Thermometer is constantly between 72[27] & 80 - & air like balm air.
"Two friends." "Punch." are names of estates & "Jealousy"
Civility of negroes – their market, their principal food corn meal - 6 quarts each per week & 6 herrings.[28]

14th January rode horseback to "Prosperity" – walked to "Smithfield" saw negroes washing the kettles &c. Civility of managers.
Refreshment of sea breeze during the heat is the charming feature of the climate. -
Dr Channing called. -
Negro women carrying staves 70 lbs on head.
Sugar now 4 dollars, once 12,- Fishmerchant once sold 70$ in a day, now 6 or 7 &c. -
In use of sugar cane nothing lost but smoke & steam. Tops planted, leaves eaten, stalks after grinding = fuel, ashes are made into a mortar, & sugar & rum from juice. -

[26] Probably smooth-billed anis (*Crotophaga ani)* [garrapatero, judío, in Spanish], that can hop or run in small flocks on the ground. I am grateful to Dr. Mark Oberle, of Seattle, Washington, for the identification.
[27] "2" unclear in manuscript.
[28] These were the minimal rations indicated by law and custom; see Jensen, *For the health*, 160, but for a full discussion of the scarcity of nutrients available to slaves, 151-194.

"Work & rest" 'Paradise' "Hannah's rest" names of estates. 'Two Brothers.

15th January Rode to Prosperity tasted new sugar & liquor &c. -
On settling an estate valued at 30 000 expense in dealing court over 12 000. Estates are sometimes put into Bureau - then any one who supplies estate takes a certificate from Bureau which is as good as judgment & levy can be had forthwith on stock &c. - (A certain bankrupt lives here in style &c-)[29]
Difference in sugar & cane... Pawpaws & 12 other fruits on table to day.-

16th January went to Catholic Church; minister had visited 1200 Catholics & found 50 communicants only & about - ? married couple; mentioned his intention of visiting estates & devoting 1 hour to instructing &c.
Mr Rogers described Reconciling Court answering purpose of cognovits[30] &c- then common court - 1 judge, then king's high court, then court at Copenhagen. Almost all causes here appealed &c. Charges enormous
Story of forgery in N.Y. -

17 January. Rode to Basin. Saw Mr Ridgway. Berhagen - Alsop. Winslow, Stridiron & an eminent Danish lawyer who wastes the fortune he acquires. Dined at B's. Returned in evening. Road. Appearance of estates.- Slept at Mr Penstinon's. Piano. Account of Bermuda slaves.

18th January. Rode to town - Sloop of war had arrived from St Thomas with Mr Derby[31] &c. & Count Dal Verme.[32] Walked with Mr L & Count to Prosperity & Lagrange & rode in thro' kindness of manager.

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[29] According to Jensen, *For the health*, 29: "the drastic fall in sugar prices in the 1820s sent many planters into bankruptcy, and a number of plantations reverted to the Danish state as the planters' main creditor."
[30] Cognovit - defendant's recognition that the plaintiff's cause is just, and judgment awarded without a trial. The paragraph describes the levels of the judicial system.
[31] Richard C. Derby, according to a letter from Charles to Edward, dated 1 February 1831; ALS MH bMS Am 1280.226 (5), and Edward's journal note of 20 July 1831. Richard Crowningshield Derby (1777-1854) and his wife Martha Coffin Derby (1783-1832), were wealthy, refined travelers, well-acquainted with European art circles. She traveled to St. Croix "for her health". See Lanier, "Martha Coffin Derby's Grand Tour" and short excerpts of her letters from St. Thomas and St. Croix, in a family website,

Bell apple full of seeds resembles pawpaw somewhat in lubricity & flavor but not in bitterness of seeds – poor fruit.
Sugar cane sometimes not renewed for 12 years though better renewed in 4 or 5.
Cutting cane ceases in July before hurricane months set in endangering mills &c.

19th January Walked on beach, the surf being pretty saucy & throwing up queen conchs[33] in plenty. The north west wind here ties the hands of the captains who wish to discharge or load & is unfavorable to wind mills which are adapted to easterly breezes.
P.M. visited Prosperity

20.th January visited Mount Victory[34] Montpelier & Rose hill & 2 Brothers. Sometimes 4 hogsheads[35] made in a day. Some estates have 300 negroes. Mr Ritchie's 150. Saw negroes holeing or preparing ground for sugar. Negroes eat twice a day.

21 January. Rode to Mount Victory with Mr Derby. Remained to board. Conversed with Dr Channing about slaves & Brougham[36] in whom he has little confidence & about whom he quotes Mr Foster's opinion (author of *Essays*)[37] -
P.M visited breadfruit trees. - After tea dance of little negroes &c.

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http://www.jacksonsweb.org/marthacoffin.htm. Her portrait by John Singleton Copley can be seen at http://www.aug.edu/augusta/iconography/biggerFiles/ceciliaCopley.html

[32] dal Verme, Francesco (1758-1832), count of domains in northern Italy, celebrated writer and traveler (friend of George Washington); see Libro d'Oro de la Nobiltà Mediterranea, http://www.genmarenostrum.com/pagine-lettere/letterad/Dal%20Verme/dalverme2.htm (16 February 2013).

[33] *Strombus gigas*, in Spanish, *carrucho*.

[34] Name of local estate.

[35] Hogshead - a large cask or barrel for solids or liquids, of variable capacity according to the contents. A hogshead of sugar weighed 1,400 pounds or more.

[36] Brougham, Henry (1778-1868), first Baron Brougham and Vaux, one of the founders of the *Edinburgh Review*, abolitionist, liberal Member of Parliament (and aggressive debater), Lord Chancellor (1830-1834) and supporter of the Reform Act (1832) and the Slavery Abolition Act (1833). A prolific writer on many subjects, he also designed "the brougham", a four-wheeled, horse-drawn carriage.

[37] Foster, John (1770-1843). *Essays in a series of letters on the following subjects: on a man's writing memoirs of himself; on decision of character; on the application of the epithet romantic; on some of the causes by which evangelical religion has been rendered less acceptable to persons of cultivated taste*. Andover: M. Newman, 1826.

22d January. Talked of law - walked to Nicholas – origin of 'Mount Victory' - Song of slaves at work -

Sugar works. Worse cane, more lime to temper it. Exact moment for stopping fire, before which the sugar would not granulate & after which it would harden.

Mamee tree beautiful.

Read review of Humboldt's *Cuba*[38] & some of Edwards' *West Indies*.[39]

Note voluble chattering of negroes precisely like that of lower orders in Marseilles or Italy.

23d January Sunday. Read some of *Demonology* by Sir Walter Scott.[40]

Dr. Channing read 96 Psalm which he considered "prophetic." - He read Biber on *Education*.[41] Suggested change of 'allowance' for wages & so freeing the slaves now.

P. M. went to West End returning in a beautiful evening under a vertical moon. - Well has Edwards called this the climate of Paradise.

24th January. Read Halsted which is well written (though bordering sometimes on vulgarity) & may be useful as contributing to render dyspepsia unpopular by showing its general causes & the difficulty of cure & the new mode may be judicious.[42]

Walked to Mount Washington. Sea discerned in 5 points & the whole view fine.

Yesterday saw many negro children completely naked in the road.

Mules are much used for work & costly. Horse hire expensive $6 to Basin. Thieving common.-

P.M. rode horseback to see a tree whose leaf tastes exactly like clove. (clove tree)? Tasted also cinnamon leaf.-

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[38] Humboldt, Alexander von (1769-1859). *Essai politique sur l'île de Cuba*. Paris: Gide fils, 1826; or *Tableau statistique de l'île de Cuba*. Paris: Gide fils, 1831.

[39] Possibly Edwards, Bryan. *The history, civil and commercial, of the British West Indies, with a continuation to the present time.* London: Whittaker, 5th ed., 1819.

[40] Scott, Walter (1771-1832), extraordinarily popular Scottish novelist and poet. *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, just published (1830).

[41] Biber, George Eduard (1801-1874). *Christian education, in a course of lectures, delivered in London, in spring 1829*. London, E. Wilson, 1830.

[42] Halsted, Oliver. *A full and accurate account of the new method of curing dyspepsia, discovered and practised by O. Halsted. With some observations on diseases of the digestive organs*. New York: O. Halsted, 1830.

George Barnard arrived with letters from W. & C.C. & Dr R.

January 25. Walked; - eat grenadilla. This fruit resembling in appearance an unripe or smooth skin muskmelon, is cut at one end & the seeds taken out with a spoon & distributed in wine glasses. They taste much like our wild grape pulp.
Saw a lizard which occupies constantly some part of a large looking glass in our hall, a pretty & half tame reptile. Another takes station on the opposite glass, & hunts for flies.
Mrs. Channing's kindness seems to be of native growth in her heart, & no painfully reared exotic, as some people's.
PM. walked; evening heard some of Mrs F's *Robinson Crusoe.*[43]

26.th January. Walked - Negroes caution against hot sun &c.
Dr Channing spoke of ruin of estate.

Dr Stedman[44] called - acquainted with Dr Mitchels whose early powers he described; also with Dr Wistar- Emmett. MacIntosh. He says negroes don't fear death. Danes fear it much. – these live too freely – temperance necessary here in eating.– Religion very low; minister not respectable. Government very strict. - Sobother is only a temporary governor. Van Scholten[45] is the governor & quite popular.

Evening heard more of *Robinson Crusoe*. Dr Channing says well that on this island there is a general repose as to topics which agitate in the U.S. Tis true.-

27.th January. Walked. Received letter from R.W. & one from Miss M. M. E. & one from Mother & a piece from Ellen.- How should the fruit respond to the watering. Dr Channing too has been very kind & how difficult it is to steer independently amid benefactors.

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[43] Defoe, Daniel (ca. 1660-1731), English writer. *Robinson Crusoe*, first published in London, 1719, tells the adventures of a man shipwrecked on a deserted tropical island.
[44] Possibly William Stedman (1764-1844), who seems to have cared for visiting "invalids" from North America. Among the annual reports to government required of all doctors, only Stedman's mention "consumption", and in only in relation to those travelers. See Jensen, *For the health*, 89, 93.
[45] von Scholten, Peter (1784-1854), governor general of the Danish West Indies, interim and then proper, 1827-1848, and crucial figure in the history of the abolition of slavery on the islands; see Lawaetz, *von Scholten*.

Rode to town was weighed (117½). Saw arnotto.[46]
Walked in evening to Estate Pleasant Valley. Beauty of evening (moon light). Mrs Codwise answers my questions for R.W.E. $12 a week each gentleman & lady & 6 for domestic & her charge for washing is only ½ dollar a dozen. Her charge for horses furnished will be moderate in comparison with the high rates usual in the town of West End,- where the charge for a morning ride on horseback is $1 & for a horse & gig to climb the hills to Mount Victory $2.50. A coach to do the same $5 (distance 3¾ miles) - Mrs Codwise's charges would be about half as great. - The town charge for washing too is 80¢ -
Heard more of *Robinson Crusoe*. It is interesting to regard that tale as an account of the progress of man from one want to another &c. -

28th January. Walked to 'Annerly', saw a monkey.-
Walked to 'Nicholas' drank a cup of 'sling' (the sugar before it is quite perfect in the teach, for pouring into the coolers). I find the managers & overseers seem to be all Scotch or Irish – men who by industry & some suspect by an insinuating accommodation of their conduct & language to the disposition of the proprietor get posts in which great authority & trust rest on them. Some it is said abuse it. Some it is said lose by it, - when estates are insolvent. --
Saw the arrow-root & ginger growing & lemon grass which tastes like the ginger & also strongly of lemon peel.
Mr & Mrs Derby came to Mount Victory today. -

29th January remained quiet - wrote letters

30 January ditto - wrote letters

31 Breakfasted with Mr vanBrakle at "Rose hill" rode to West End, received letter from W.E.-

[46] Arnotto - *Bixa orellana* [achiote], variant of annatto; its seeds are surrounded by a pulp from which an orange-red coloring is used as dye and condiment.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[47]

St Croix 31 January 1831

Dear William

Having an idle moment at West End I add to what I have sent to the letter bag of the *Eliza Davison* as follows. Mr George Barnard appears to be what you have described him, amiable & intelligent. He seems to enjoy his residence at Mrs Boyle's, where he has fixed himself in the room which I occupied. I should be glad to have you mention his well-being when you write north because such collateral tidings may please his friends. It is so probable that I shall remain hereabouts for some time that I would not have you refrain from writing when good opportunity offers, & any news occur to you in your leisure, although I shall not hesitate to embrace any very excellent occasion of removal. Well placed at present I seek no change but keep an open ear & shall weigh anchor in the event of a strong breeze of circumstances. I shall not refuse to pull at the law again in New York yoked as aforetime with one of stronger neck—if the health which Providence sends should fit me for the work, but if you hear of other business for me which can keep me in warm latitudes & send me hence to Cuba or where-not—it may be better for the whole of us. How the mass of rulers & ruled is fermenting over the Sea. Each seems afraid of the other—Each puts a chip on its hat & dares his neighbor.

Your's ever,

Edward

February 1831

1 February. Left Mount Victory for warmer weather at West End. Visited *Porpoise* U.S. schooner[48] (Percival commander) how entertained, pleased with Lieutenant Bowtwell. Walked to Hannahs Rest.

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[47] MHi Ms N-251 (181).

[48] Schooners and brigs are among the most frequently mentioned types of ships in this journal. Both have two masts, but differ in cargo capacity and speed. Schooners were smaller and swifter than brigs; see Dorsey, *Slave traffic*, 98.

2 February. Walked to William & saw a considerable cluster of fruit trees, so considerable here as to have the name of a garden. We should think it but small & ill arranged orchard in our state. However the paucity of trees in comparison with the abundance of fruit on our tables is obvious to remark in this place. We ate "Forbidden fruit" & drank cocoanut milk &c & returned refreshed. Were assailed with the usual rebuke for exposure to the sun & fatigue, when in fact our walk had been to me a pleasure & I think a benefit. One of the three seemed wearied. -

3d February. Rode to Mount Victory, breakfasted – rode to Punch, saw Mr Farrel who says that Annerley & Punch together produce some years 300 hogsheads sugar, being both "double estates". Sugar at 8 cents would hardly pay the expenses of production unless the crop should be very large, then 250 hogsheads might pay expenses & 50 be clear gain &c. -
Porpoise left West End to day for the Main. -
(Called on the Misses Smith who had been at the dance of which the music had been continued till 3 morning near us &c -)
Last evening walked to "Wheel of Fortune" Estate. -

4th February. Walked - before & after breakfast, then read a little in Edwards who thinks that ancient Indian residents of these Windward Islands were of oriental origin, & came here by some accidental navigation by trade winds &c.
Rode out with Mr Rogers, visited 5 estates Orange Grove, 2 Friends, Montpelier, Annally & Jolly hill. The best sugar was at 2 Friends & that is said to be as good as any in St Croix i.e. anywhere. The fault more or less visible in the others was dampness, even where they had been made long enough to have become dry. A bright light straw color is preferred & a brittle sandy consistence such as will separate & not cohere when tossed in the hand.
Returning talked of the governor, of fruit trees. The same want here requires 1/4 the number of trees, because these always bear. - Instance mango.

5 February. Washerwoman says "we colored people are not good to one another" &c. Wrote letters. - Danish captain dined with us, a temperate man.

6th Feb. Sunday - Church. Read Combe on constitution.[49] I like some of his ideas, such as importance of exercising all our faculties, in order to complete happiness & his notions as to death, but am no convert to his extreme phrenology.[50] (Pleasant evening chit chat.) By the way Combe writes Dr Channing that he sits after breakfast & dinner & talks nonsense for recreation & digestion. He may find entertainment to his mind in phrenology. Ha?

7 February. Walked; picked up eyestones (sic); qu.[51] Why do they move in vinegar? I said because the animalculae[52] in vinegar slip under & round them perhaps seeking the salt that adheres to them or for amusement. The motion when narrowly watched is such as to confirm this guess; being like that of a grain of sugar candy moved by ants, &c.
Mem. Mrs Derby's kindness.

8th February. Blistered - read & played chess.

9th February kept house again.

10th February read the satire "Truth" & some of Edwards & Combe & Whitman.

11th February Mem. Winslow's story of lawsuit for auction fees.

12 February Eclipse 1/4 to 1/3 obscurity took place between 12½ & 2½ o'clock.

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[49] Combe, George (1788-1858). *The constitution of man considered in relation to external objects*. Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1829.
[50] Phrenology - theory of the correspondence of external cranial anatomy (protuberances) with intellectual faculties and moral sentiments, propounded by Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828) and Johann C. Spurzheim (1776-1832). George Combe wrote a book about it, *Essays on phrenology*, Edinburgh, 1819.
[51] Query, question.
[52] From Latin - small animals, microscopic aquatic organisms.

13 February Read *Demonology* &c - took W's medicine.

14th February Read little – wrote to William & note to Dr. Channing & paid Captain Tolman. Passage money &c to Captain Tolman 14.50. Fee to steward .25.

Mem Mr Roger's description Reconciling court. 3 neighbors – Judge asks defendant if he will agree to pay & when; & then asks plaintiff if he will consent to the sum & time named - If plaintiff say yes then a protocol(?) is made out equivalent to a cognovit (& the affair is settled for a piece of eight) & on which judgment & execution may be had at any time according to the terms; if however plaintiff say no - then the court can compel nothing & the party is left to seek relief in another court. The 'special court' may afford aid to a foreigner seeking justice against resident. Relief will then be summary, (as with us on oath of danger.)

Note- Average crop of sugar for St Croix 20-25 000 hogsheads sugar & 10 000 puncheons[53] rum. - Greatest crop known was 32 000 sugar.

Mem. inquire about growth of fruits & heighth of plants also minerals - Population laws -

Cocoanuts were sold at 2 for a stiver = 2/3 of cent a piece. Bananas at same price. Fish 10 stivers a pound. Sugar 4 to 6 a pound. Bread 4 for a small long loaf. Guava jelly at 1/2 dollar a pound when made with white sugar.

February 15. Walked – read a few pages in Combe – Rode horseback-

Heard Mr Aarestrep (collector) give account of Dr Stevens formerly American consul general (for the West Indies)? & brother of Gen. Hamilton. Alexander Hamilton[54] was born in one of the neighboring islands & brought up in St. Croix & through his influence Dr Stevens became American functionary & exerted great

[53] Large barrels, usually for fermenting a beverage.
[54] Hamilton, Alexander (1755-1804), born in Nevis, British West Indies. Founding Father, Revolutionary War soldier, first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

control over the great men & affairs of this region e.g Christophe, Toussaint, General Harcourt or (Hawkeworth).[55]

Dr Stevens did many kind deeds to the Danes who had lost property & office on the British capture of St. Croix. Harcourt stopped the proceedings of the rapacious Cochrane Johnson[56] & ----- who had been entrusted with the management of the estates. Dr Stevens was intimate with Harcourt & prompted or seconded Harcourt's benevolent policy. (The estates were then as now subject to claims & mortgaged to government so that when put up at auction Cochrane Johnson & the other bought them in for trifles &c).

Mrs Derby is certainly eminent among ladies for elegance of manners & language & for copiousness of ideas & facts at command. She treads with boldness & grace the slippery places of etiquette & of diction, has a reproof for impudence & a reply for compliment, a story to enliven & a riddle to puzzle or amuse. She knows that she has been admired & she still displays the vivacity & good humor which attract & please. She is still admired, or better yet, approved. The appearance of affectation which remarked exists but who can say what is natural & what assumed in one that has been in so many circles. I wish that affectation were always associated with as much good sense as in Mrs Derby. If she does drawl sometimes, she is prompt on occasion, & both knows & sustains the part of an American lady with dignity.

Mr Derby is an amiable man, a kind husband, determined to please others, & his wife & himself. I think him by no means wanting in intelligence, although he will sacrifice dignity for amusement, so as often to pass for much less than his worth. He is

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[55] Stevens, Edward, native of the West Indies. Alexander Hamilton was raised in his home and both were sent together to New York for their education. He was a man of great intelligence and ability, and married the daughter of the Danish governor of Santa Cruz. In 1799, he was living in Philadelphia, and was designated consul-general of the United States in present-day Haiti for about a year (1799-1800), at the time of Toussaint's civil war with Rigaud. See Anon. "Letters of Toussaint Louverture and of Edward Stevens, 1798-1800," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Oct., 1910), pp. 64-101, esp. 65-66.

[56] Cochrane Johnstone, Andrew (1767- disappeared in 1814). According to Lee, Sidney, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1892, 30: 72: "In December 1807, orders having been given for the capture of the Danish islands […], Johnstone was made auctioneer and agent for the captors as far as the navy was concerned [...] and personally obtained possession of much produce and money. On refusing to give up the property, he was arrested, but was released on parole and escaped to England. There he made a good profit out of the transaction." Elected to Parliament in 1812, he was expelled in 1814 and was not heard of again. See also http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/cochrane-(afterwards-cochrane-johnstone-)-hon-andrew-james-1767-1833#footnote10_4xd5983

completely open in the expression of the animal delight in good fare &c when most of us roll our sweet morsels without loud praise. This is certainly a bad habit if not a constitutional defect in the gentleman & reminds me of the story in *North American Review* "the whole with oil."[57] — So he puns too much. - But again he has a something of independence & I hope of personal probity at bottom, which goes far to atone for his apparent want of self respect.

17th February rode to Mount Victory - with Mr. Derby. Dr Channing talked with a Swedenborgian[58] Dane (who called there) about Unitarians &c. Dr Channing had visited Mr Lang & heard of a proprietor who could not afford to pay his taxes & offered to give up his estate - & the offer was rejected by government & by individuals!

Returned saw the whole shipping in the harbour decked out in consequence of the arrival of our governor von Scholten. Flags flying & guns firing. Blacks assembled round the fort awaiting his Excellency's forth coming - &c. -

18th February Visited Estates "Good Hope" Carlton, Hogensburg & Concordia.

The works at Hogensburg are said to be the best on the island. They appear to have been costly, & the present low prices of sugar & rum will hardly suffice to keep them in repair. A steam mill for grinding cane, which cost £5000, is now unemployed, because of some disorder which has existed many months & the crops are such as not to make it worthwhile to mend it. The inscription of *Adam Sobotker 1756* is over that of *Rebuilt by J & E. S. 1821* above the door of one of the work buildings. Both father &

[57] *North American Review*, founded in Boston in 1815, the longest-lived literary magazine in the United States, and still in existence. The article mentioned, available through http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/n/nora/, is by Friedrich, Baron de Grimm (1723-1807), "Anecdotes of Fontenelle", *North American Review*, May 1815, vol. 1 no. 1: 44-51 – anecdote in p. 49. Bernard de Fontenelle (1657-1757), French natural philosopher, was said to be very selfish and devoted to the pleasures of the table. He liked asparagus dressed with oil, and, at dinner with a friend who liked them with butter but had ordered that half be cooked with oil, when the host was suddenly taken ill, Fontenelle "ran to the kitchen, and cried, *the whole with oil, the whole with oil*."

[58] Follower of Swedenborg, Emmanuel (1688-1772), Swedish scientist and influential religious teacher, who believed he had been granted a revelation from God for a new age of truth and reason in religion, and that the power and life within all creation is God.

son have sustained high offices here. The son has been governor during the absence of Von Scholten.[59]

The garden at Hogensburg is neatly & expensively laid out but wants the florid & luxuriant aspect which we admire in highly cultivated grounds. The sago plant was remarkable growing like the bamboo. [In manuscript, drawing of a bush] We went into the house of Governor Sobotker & found it very well adapted for this climate, & neatly though not sumptuously adorned.

Evening talked with Lieutenants Bruce & Ellison of *Vincennes*.[60] Difference between sloop of war & frigate is that former has but one battery (or tier) of guns being a 'first-deck' vessel & usually carries from 20 to 30 guns more or less, while a frigate carries from 40 to 66 more or less guns, & is a 'single deck' vessel having (if I remember) a tier of guns on the quarter or on the forecastle beside the main deck battery.

Mrs Derby spoke of the apparent coldness & exclusiveness & caution of New England people arising not from want of sincere good feeling but habits of reserve &c.

19 February Rode out to Prosperity. The manager was sick & talking of a trip to Nevis for the benefit of sea air & the warm & hot springs & baths of that island, which he said could be had for an expense of $3. a day (besides the passage for $16 & the fees for passport $2.50 each way).

The Governor held a levee at Bassin[61] yesterday - today visits the men of war in harbor. The sight of these with their yards manned is very fine. The sailors stand upright on the yards - joining hands & with their hats off - dressed in white. I suppose there were an 100 thus on the *Vincennes* for her crew is about 200. Meanwhile salutes were fired.

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[59] Søbøtker, Johannes (ca. 1773 -1854), see Lawaetz, *von Scholten*, 84-87 for details on his family and position.

[60] The USS *Vincennes*, a 703-ton *Boston* class sloop of war, was a celebrity as a sailing ship, the first U.S. Navy ship to circumnavigate the Earth. Built at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, New York, and commissioned in August 1826, she sailed by way of Cape Horn to the Pacific, cruised extensively in that ocean until 1830, and returned by way of China, the Philippines, the Indian Ocean and the Cape of Good Hope, with arrival in New York in June 1830. Following repairs, in 1831-1832, *Vincennes* operated in the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico; see Naval History and Heritage Command, http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/sh-usn/usnsh-v/vincenns.htm (16 February 2013).

[61] Levee - a morning assembly held by a person of distinction; Bassin, Bass end - Christiansted.

Sunday 20 February. Received 2 letters with sorrowful news of Ellen's illness. At home - read bible, Combe, *Zaire*[62] &c. Dr Channing called, spoke of the lessons of sickness.

21st February Rode to the "Bog" saw Mrs Dewhurst & daughters (The sufferings of the too abstinent must I think be less than of the too full eater.) Declined the invitation to the ball of 22d instant.

22d February Lieut [Blank in MS.] breakfasted with us. He is a lively & agreeable man who has visited Iceland, & says that the people there are hospitable & honest. Though without schools the children are educated better than those of most nations, being generally able to write when 9 years old. In travelling he was obliged to swim across the cold rivers at the side of his horse.- The church is frequently opened for the lodging of travellers.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[63]

St Croix

West End 19 February 1831

My dear William—

I wrote you by the Calais Packet which sailed day before yesterday, & drew on you at sight for $100. in favor of George M. Barnard. I also requested you to send by the first vessel which should sail after receipt of my letter, either for St Thomas or St Croix, two pair of my summer pantaloons (if to St Thomas to address of George M. Barnard care of Reed, Whitmore & Davis, if hither to my address, & care of D. Rogers Esq.). Should this parcel get here by 1st April or so, it would be very convenient. I write this line only to

[62] Voltaire, François Marie Arouet de (1694-1778), French writer. His play *Zaire* was staged in 1732.
[63] MHi Ms N-251 (185).

bolster up the other & forewarn you of the draft (pardon the Hibernicism)[64] because the Calais Packet may have a long passage.

20th February. Last night I blistered again, as I wish to 'deracinate' as Justice Blackstone hath it the pain in the side; otherwise I find my restoration to strength is but a halfway sort of recovery. To day we Americans (invalids & all) received billets of invitation to a ball which is to be given on Tuesday Eve (22d) to the officers of the *Vincennes*. The chaplain of the *Vincennes* Mr Colton preached to day on shore by invitation, & Dr. Channing attended church as an hearer. I wish the latter may be invited to officiate before he leaves St. Croix. His unitarianism may prevent it. The church is Episcopalian. Dr Channing called on us to day & talked well about Swedenborgianism &c. He thinks Swedenborg undertook to meet the two great human wants—desire of communion with deceased & desire of acquaintance with the spiritual world, its appearance, &c & he thinks the system is a failure utter & gross.

For the present Goodbye

E. B. E.

I have not told the greatest event of the day—i.e. the receipt of 2 letters, one from mother & the other from R. W. E. of 26 to 28 January. Sad sad news they brought of Ellen's sufferings. What to wish I know not, but if she could only sustain the voyage hither I should beg that she would come. But why did you not write by the *Vincennes*? How unlike you—I was sure of hearing—& you sent "not a line"—But again good bye.

21st. I have just written my answer declining the invitation to the ball, though I have not a little curiosity to see the show. I stay away on the Hudibrastic[65] principle in part—that I may live to go to merry makings at another time & place—& partly from a sense of the incongruity between my infirm condition & the spirit & step of gayety. I am glad our American fashionable world will be so well represented by Mrs Derby whom all join to admire. Her conversation is perhaps superior to her manners, both being elegant. P.M. What think you <u>they</u> have been so overpersuasive with me that is I have been so

[64] Hibernicism - an expression characteristic of Irish speech. Edward apparently believed that "draft" (a written order for the payment of money) was the Irish mode of writing "draught".
[65] Hudibrastic - burlesque-heroic, in the manner of Samuel Butler's satirical poem Hudibras, published in England, 1663-1678.

easy to persuade that I have sent an answer accepting the ball invitation & so shall be a looker on. You had better recollect our climate before you condemn my imprudence, & say nothing of this to mother if you think it will alarm her.

22[d] The vessel still waiting I add that my blisters always afford a relief to the pain & that I continue to avoid flesh & even fish—that I am obliged to use those lax-pills which Dr Perkins gave me & latterly have tried a wineglass daily of a mixture of rhubarb-gentian[66] &c &c. This last I like as a corrective, & it is recommended as a specific in dyspepsia but I shall drop it if it injure. In this postum [position?] of affairs I have not wished to ask any medical advice here. The doctors here might take some time & do me little good while they were learning my constitution. If it be better for me to discontinue blistering before the pain wholly leaves me or to eat meat or drink wine or coffee, I should like to hear as much from Dr Perkins if you will see him. I have thought myself better for the experiment of 8 or 9 days, taking nothing with my cup of tea in the morning & so eating only at 12 a very light lunch & a pretty good vegetable & fruit dinner at 4 & omitting the old indulgence of tea & taking a glass of sugar & water instead at 7 or 8. These are trifles to you & yet I tell them for various reasons, & I may change my regime long before I hear from you. I look to my side as the regulator of my diet, having found that a very hearty meal was followed by a greater sensitiveness or positiveness of pain in that quarter. My appetite or relish is good.

[End of letter]

23[d] February - I feel as if one tie to this life were cut in the event of which Charles' letter informs me. So then that fair & beloved girl has gone from earth to heaven - Oh why should tears fill my eyes – all cold as they are used to be - May the Father of life & mercy console the bereaved & prepare us all to die the death of the righteous.- How did she seem when I first saw her, born for this earth, born to grace & cheer the home of my brother. But the angels whispered "Sister spirit come away" & she is gone - I

[66] Rhubarb may refer to any of various plants resembling those of the genus *Rheum*. The extract of its roots or leaves served as cathartic, to facilitate passage of stools. The extract of the root of gentian (*Gentiana lutea*) was used as a stimulant for the appetite, digestion, and circulation.

have not felt the death of any one so much even for a few moments as this of Ellen. I remember my grief at losing our little Caroline - Nature at 8 & at 25 is the same.[67]

Last evening not expecting these tidings - I attended the ball given to the Captain & officers of the *Vincennes* - It was well managed, I should think, & there seemed to be enjoyment. The red & white & the lace & the gilding of the Danish officers gave a liveliness & brilliancy to the assembly. Governor von Scholten appeared as much at his ease as any gentleman could be in his own house. - below middle stature, bald - with an intelligent expression, & something of arbitrary turn.

24th February. I blistered again, read a little, here & there - particularly in Miss Derby's book for schools on 'common things', which is very good. Some scraps of genuine poetry in the ditties of that L.E.L. but 'tis tedious to have so much of it.
Voltaire's *Zaire* is quite interesting.

25 February. The Epistle to the Phillippians is more agreeable to me than those to the Ephesians & Galatians[68] as far as I recollect them.
Our fine weather continues.
Poor Billy has the fever & fits &c.
Voltaire in his dedication of *Brutus*[69](which I like much) says that the Abbe St Real's *History of conspiracy of Venice*[70] is better than Otway's *Venice Preserved*[71] founded on it.

26th February rode horseback. Read treatise on Health.
There is a parade of troops at Bassin. Some one said near 800 were reviewed by the governor who rode about with great speed.

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[67] His 3-year-old sister Mary Caroline died on 14 April 1814, when Edward was 8 years old; see Bosco and Myerson, *Emerson brothers*, xvii.
[68] Paul's Epistles to the Phillippians, Ephesians and Galatians.
[69] Voltaire, *Brutus* (1730).
[70] Abbé de St. Réal (Vichard, César) (1639-1692). *Conjuration des Espagnols contre la République de Venise en l'Année M DC XVIII*, (1674).
[71] Otway, Thomas (1652-1685), British playwright. *Venice preserv'd, or, A plot discover'd: a tragedy* (1682).

Captain Shubrech of the *Vincennes* & his lady receive continued attention. The utmost is done in the way of frolic which St Croix can do. It is after all a labour to be glad; unless my eyes deceive me very much. There is little buoyancy here. Little excitability on great things & the excitement on small ones is momentary, disproportionate & wanting fuel cannot warm.

I hear that the troop is kept ready for service at all times. Mr H. says that 2 guns from the fort at night or day would send all to their equipments. We complain of 12.75 yearly fine for non appearance. Here after 2 or 3 heavy fines continued delinquency would incur banishment. This felt necessary caution against insurrection which though not apprehended at present is supposed always possible, in the event of tidings conveyed from neighboring islands where a successful rising would be an example that would run hither like the flash & might excite the quiet negroes.

27th February I passed Sunday at home & in walking - Saw a guana[72] which is but a large lizard.

28th February Saw a live pelican in the hands of a boy who said it was too lean to fly away, & so had become his captive.
Visited the *Vincennes* 36 guns - 196 crew & 20-30 officers. Lieutenants Engle- Cocke, (Hayne) Bruce, Ellison.
Mr Pierce had been to school with W.E. &c.

March 1831

1831 March 1st rode horseback, breakfasted with Mr [name crossed out], who spoke of the indirect influence of government here.

Found a Mr Durant from New Haven at our house apparently in good health, although 6 weeks ago he was carried on board the vessel which brought him to St Croix. He recovers by the action of the climate & by abstemious living.

[72] Correctly, *iguana.*

I have been aiming at Cornaro's rule[73] for 2 days guessing at the weight - 12 ounces per diem of solid food. Perhaps I may need less or more, but in the failure of so many experiments, this is as safe as any, & though I have not his 14 ounces of wine, yet by tea & soups &c I may make up the deficit. I am trying a more regular system of diet too & exercise, banishing from former sundry articles which though very palatable to me are universally condemned by the medical writers - such as pastry, preserves, fried vegetables even my favorite rice cakes & &c. Also beans & peas (when potato & bread can be had), taking much less sweet, molasses, &c & more bread than heretofore.[74]

At breakfast I am trying a boiled egg with bread or toast - making about 2 to 3 ounces in all – then luncheon of bread & fruit say 2 to 3 ounces with a cup of gruel - then dinner of about 6 to 8 ounces of solid bread or vegetables or the solid fruits like banana. And I consider as liquid the juice of a bit of shaddock or orange or a little thin soup.

As to exercise I have resumed friction twice a day for a 1/4 hour or so; I ride every pleasant morning an hour on horseback; lounge 1/2 hour after breakfast & in course of forenoon walk &c at least an hour. Lounge a 1/2 hour after lunch. Walk or use friction & bathing a full hour & more before dinner at 4 PM. From 4 to 6 dine & lounge - from 6 to 9 read, chat, & walk the house; retire at 9 using friction if necessary a few minutes before going to bed.

My first 2 days trial has encouraged me much to persevere in the experiment, till I discover some regimen more or less distant from Cornaro's that may protract, or what is also important, render comfortable my span of life.

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[73] Cornaro, Luigi, also known as Alvise Corner (Padua, 1467-1566), Venetian nobleman, famous for longevity (Tintoretto painted his portrait). Finding himself very ill between his 35th and 40th years, he followed the recommendation of his physicians for a sober and regular life, with sparing use of food and drink. Cornaro found his health restored, and in old age published his rules for a long and healthy life. He recommended that to keep in good health, "a man cannot have a better guide than himself, nor any physic [medicine] better than a regular life." He advocated the control of passions and a diet of no more than 12 ounces of food and 14 ounces of wine. (He did not specifically state that this was the daily intake, but such became the general interpretation.) See Luigi Cornaro. *Discourses on the sober life (Discorsi della vita sobria)*. New York: T. Y. Crowell, ca. 1916, available at http://archive.org/stream/discoursesonsobe00cornrich#page/n71/mode/2up

[74] Undated note in the Memorandum Book, Houghton MS Am 1280.235 (333): "Those who train for health use stale bread & biscuit & meat – no puddings or pies – little butter few or no vegetables, or at any rate the simplest, no ardent spirit."

2d March- Deferred ride till after breakfast on account of blister Mr F. bade us good bye - a lively & good natured gentleman. He goes in the *Vincennes*.

After lunch we gratified a curiosity which with me was considerably excited as to the weight of some provisions. We found a little stiver loaf of size of a breakfast cake weighed when of wheat flour- about 1/4 pound. When of rye, 5 ounces a third of it or about an ounce & ½ would therefore be enough with an egg for an invalid's breakfast. A medium slice of bread weighs between 1½ & 2 ounces. - A medium banana peeled about 3 ounces. An orange from 5 to 7 & 8 ounces. Now the invalids rule permits about 16 ounces solid & 24 liquid Cornaro's l2 solid & 14 liquid (his being wine).

These things I do not think that I particularize from any absurd or absorbing interest therein taken, but as matter of rational inquiry, more immediately important to me now than heretofore.

To day, saw the governor of St. Thomas (Rosenhorn,[75] pro-tempore) a very polite & sensible man to judge from his 5 minute conversation with Mrs. Derby.

Bought some ban-bush[76] at house of a free old negro woman whose talk was as far from English as any other, except when she strove to be intelligible & this is not uncommonly the case here.

3d March Walked out to Hannah's rest & took breakfast. Returned. Received letter from mother mentioning Ellen's happy dying, rode out horseback to William Estate.- Wrote a line to C.C.E.

Mem. had a chigre[77] taken out of my toe, where it took up lodgings some days ago & had already planted quite a colony of nits which our experienced housekeeper Sally removed with great ease & without so much pain to myself as often attends the extraction of a splinter from the finger. The neglecting these chigres is often the

[75] Properly, Rosenørn, Fr. L. Ch. Pentz - came to the Danish West Indies as law secretary in 1805; appointed governor of St. Thomas in 1829, died in 1834; see Lawaetz, *von Scholten*, 322.
[76] *Morinda citrifolia*, the noni tree. See Appendix 3. I am grateful to Mr. Michael A. Joseph, of St. Croix, US Virgin Islands, for the identification.
[77] Chigger - *Tunga penetrans* ("nigua" in Spanish).

occasion of very great distress & deformity. I did not suspect my little enemy, but thought the bleeding & corn-like sore was in truth a mere corn or wart irritated by the corner of the nail, as there was no itching. After the chigre & children had been dug out with a needle we put snuff upon the spot, according to the approved precept or statute in such case &c.

4th March. Rode out horseback. Country quite dry & air pure although rain fell in the night. This island is to me very agreeable on this account of the quickness of recovery from damp & shower, to a soft & clear weather air.

I stopped & begged a little banana bush at "Concordia" whereupon the Manager offered to send me a supply if I would name my place of residence in town. I did with thanks & before 11 o'clock a negro came with a liberal handful. This sort of politeness seems to abound in St Croix. Last evening, for example, a boy came from the "William" with a root which one of the ladies had expressed a wish to possess – in a recent visit to that garden.

Rode out with Mr Derby to the Bog & called on Mr Dewhurst's family, consisting of Mr & Mrs Dewhurst, their son, & 2 daughters. Governor Rosenhern was there & conversation was lively & somewhat literary, turning on Lady Morgan[78] & the French authors with which Miss Dewhurst seemed conversant. Something was said too of the insupportable heat & the fatigue of exposure in the sun as preventing any attempt to sketch a very remarkable scene among the hills near Mount Victory. An enthusiastic Italian would I think find a fit time & place for the study; but the residents of St Croix certainly under rate the powers of human beings.

Received a double letter from William to day. How does a letter supply the place of the Arabian spy glass which enabled you to see your distant friends.[79] W. is alive before me in 60 Wall Street.

[78] Morgan, Lady Sydney, née Sydney Owenson (Dublin, 1783- London, 1859), author of *The wild Irish girl*, sometimes considered a foundational text in Irish nationalist literature.
[79] In *The Arabian nights*, the tale of "Prince Ahmed and the fairy Peri-Banu".

5 March Rode horseback. After breakfast visited Becks Grove. Mem coffee – cocoa - cotton clove cinnamon orange Jamaica plum - shaddock – citron – rose – oleander – cane sago - minionette

Mem. I find that my 12 ounces run up to 16 & 18 if I include all the fruit & lighter vegetables as well as bread in my estimate of solids. But I am better for the attempt & it may be that Cornaro's meat & wine rendered less weight sufficient nutriment.

Sunday - 6 March. Having blistered I am more quiet to day - but the propensity to exercise & the aversion to intellectual labor is almost constant. -
Read a little of Degerando[80] which I liked.

Monday 7th March Rode to Becks Grove- horseback.
Wrote line to RWE read Alexander H. Everett conclusion of speech (*de Ind*).[81] excellent.
Learned a new & agreeable game called "Giraffe".[82] This game is played with 2 sticks in the hand of each performer & a ring thrown by means of these from the one to the other.- It is adapted to open the chest & so excels shuttlecock.

March 8th Rode horseback. Walked, read, played – such is the journal.

March 9. Walked 1 hour, have gained so much strength of lungs as to read a chapter loud. T.D.[83]

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[80] Gérando, Joseph Marie, Baron de (1772-1842), author of many works on philosophy, morals and education. The book might be *Self-education; or, The means and art of moral progress,* translated from the French of M. le Baron Degerando by Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1830.
[81] Everett, Alexander Hill (Boston, 1792 - Canton, now Guǎngzhōu, China, 1847), writer and diplomat, mentioned repeatedly in this journal. "De Ind." probably refers to a speech or text on "the Indian question", the forced removal of Indians from their territories in the southeastern states. His brother, Edward Everett, was an educator (president of Harvard, 1846-1849) and politician. For a time (1829 on), both brothers directed *North American Review*, a magazine mentioned several times in the journal.
[82] Perhaps he meant "gaff" which could mean "to gamble or toss up".
[83] Possibly an abbreviation of *Te Deum*, first words of the Latin prayer *Te Deum laudamus* (You, God we praise), or if the first letter is an "L", possibly *Laus Deo* (Praise to God).

The *Jupiter* was absent 35 days which is considered remarkably short time hence to New York & loading &c & return.
Wrote to W.E – received letter & papers from WE.

10 March - Rainy morn & sore side kept me in & I read Jackson & Calhoun's correspondence[84] – a pretty dull mountainous mouse - or big fire from tiny coal - to make such a war of words in print about a construction of orders 12 years ago &c which could have been all settled in a ½ hour's conversation & have ended in the same way i.e. a personal alienation.

Yesterday Mrs Derby was considing how slavery affects the parties – master & slave - & we agreed that here it did not produce a cruel & haughty character in former, but rather a laziness & dependence - while it transferred to the latter when industrious & skilful that influence & sway which more or less directly belongs to industry & skill. Nay more the slave seems to have gotten an advantage over his owner by the mere involuntary nature of his relation to him, by the slave's consciousness of its impropriety - so that if the master be not disposed to use his prerogative & procure the whipping of the slave – the latter will take advantage of this clemency & I remember to have heard a mistress use language of entreaty when that of command was lost on an idle servant.
To day read some of Voltaire's *Brutus*, which is not so captivating a tragedy thus far, as *Zaire*.

11th March - A few days ago a fire caught the cane at 'Montpelier' & before it could be stopped burnt over 30 acres or thereabouts. The mode of subduing fire in such cases resembles that pursued in our praries &c. i.e cutting lanes or trenches round it at a distance.

[84] Calhoun, John C. (1782-1850), Jackson, Andrew (1767-1845). *Correspondence between Gen. Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun: president and vice-president of the United States, on the subject of the course of the latter, in the deliberations of the cabinet of Mr. Monroe, on the occurrences in the Seminole War.* Washington: D. Green, 1831.

In reading Edwards, second volume, page 34, came to the origin of Navigation Act - about 1652 in consequence of desire to punish the West India planters & "clip wings of the Dutch".

Mem. Spiders & negro superstion[85]

Mem. Accounts of hurricane & bars &c.

Letter to Mary Moody Emerson in New England[86]

St. Croix. 11 March 1831.

My dear Aunt,

You will excuse my deferring to answer your kind letter, long ago received, when you consider that its nature & topic were such as while they interest & elevate remain also unchanged & a reply need not be hurried “by return mail” as the phrase is. Sentiment—that word which brings up your image & at which your nephews ignorantly smiled—sentiment is eternal. Yes, it is ‘delightful’ to meet, as you say, on our pilgrimage, to speak or hail one another on this great sea & learn the destination of our several barks & strive to correct now & then a false reckoning of the moral lattitude & longitude. But you overrated (or perhaps for my advantage preferred to appear so to do) the enjoyments of what you supposed my situation. I found when weakest—when nearest to the border line—so much of earth in me & so little of celestial buoyancy that I looked on this life—acquainted as I am with some of its darker passages—as on an unfinished feast & a half cultivated field to which I was willing if not anxious to return. Had I been more what I ought to be, I might perhaps have been able to lift the hand & eye of faith in the way you intimate. As it is, I linger content to exist—hoping a little from each tomorrow, pleasing myself with the thought that possibly some corner in this busy system & noisy world of ours may afford a shelter fit for the tiny improvements and exercises of an invalid, if I remain one, or the moderate pursuit of a honest profession if I can engage therein; so that my reprieve may not be a calamity to my friends or myself. Your religious views appear to

[85] Perhaps a reference to Anancy (Anansi, Nansi, Bru Nansi), a legendary male character in West African mythology who has the form of a spider and is noted for his cunning and trickery and appears in numerous Caribbean folktales.

[86] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (180).

me to have that feature which has often seemed to me to be the only very desirable & almost unaccountable one in the Calvinistic christians—I mean a hope that has become an assurance, that has lost all of the dubious & only stands waiting for the opening of something bright & joyous. I wish too that I could attain views of the ministry of Jesus Christ that should be, to me as yours, at once consistent & permanently consolatory & animating. I thank you again for your letter & wishing you every good am respectfully & affectionately your nephew

E. B. Emerson.

12th March I rode out with Mr & Mrs Derby to Clifton hill; found Miss Dix preparing marine plants of which she has collected 2 000; saw the most beautiful conch shell which I ever recollect to have seen -presented to her; - had a view of Barren Spot Estate – so named in jest– as compared with a poor Estate called "Golden Rock" - This Barren Spot has raised 800 hogsheads sugar in one year - & its works are said to be the best on St Croix. The place appears to have at least 2 stately & fair buildings which I had supposed of course to be commodious mansion houses; but I learnt at home that there is not a decent dwelling house there, & that what I saw must have been the sugar works &c.

From Clifton Hill we went to the "Slob" where I saw two aged but agreeable & kind ladies Mrs Heyliger & Mrs Gould. They were motherly & ladylike. We drank some of the fresh liquor of the cane mill, ate lunch, visited the boiling-house &c.

Returning, found a wheel disabled, obtained another carriage at the nearest estate, according to what our driver said was "law" & perhaps is so, & at any rate seems an excellent usage for the benefit of distressed travellers.

Nothing special noticed except the length of windmill points at Slob 36 feet counting only the part which carries sail – being the longest on the island.—

Evening wrote letter to Aunt M. & William.

13 March Sunday- Read *Demonology* & Bible - my ambition wakes occasionally - I hope it will be a virtuous spirit, not a demon. It is somewhat like appetite - in its good & evil state.

At lunch we had a new fruit the custard apple, which seems to me well named – resembling a little in taste the sapadilla without its juiciness, & having a skin like a pound pear of the flattest form. The seeds were numerous black & covered with the pulp like those of the melons.

At dinner we had the first specimen which I have seen of the esteemed avocado pear (alias vegetable marrow) or as it is commonly called - alligator pear - This is still more near than the custard apple to our largest pears in appearance but altogether *sui generis* & peculiar in its taste & interior formation, resembling none of our fruits, in these respects. It was so simple & negative in flavor that I was sadly disappointed at first taste, but on a second trial became much pleased & think it a fine fruit. It is well called vegetable marrow, being somewhat rich & buttery, requiring bread. I ate it without the condiments of salt & pepper usually added.

Read a chapter in Degerando on peace of mind. Oh what a treasure - 'tis the most precious of gifts or is it less so than the 'fulness' of joy, which the Bible promises.- Degerando speaks of it as something to be cultivated.

14.th March Rode horseback before breakfast & after breakfast rode to Mount Victory & back. Noticed numerous trees of the banian species or trees having pendulous roots proceeding from branches towards the earth.
Read a little in Edwards & in *Demonology* & in Fontaine.[87]
Mem Mrs Derby's story of the French grammarian dying "*Je m'en vais ou je m'en vas*."[88]

La Fontaine Volume 2 page 69 says *Quatre Methusalem bout á bout ne pourroient mettre á fin ce qu'un seul desire.*[89] What then is the part of virtue & wisdom? & oh what

[87] La Fontaine, Jean de (1621-1695), French poet, best known for his fables.
[88] Famous last words (perhaps fictional) attributed to both French grammarians Claude Favre de Vaugelas (1585-1650) and Dominique Bouhours (1628-1702): "Je vais ou je vas mourir, l'un et l'autre se dit ou se disent" - I am going or I [am going, written in different form] to die, one and the other is said or are said. The point of Mrs. Derby's story is not stated: irony at people's concerns even in extreme circumstances, or explanation of a foreign phrase that might be equivalent to "There is no difference".

a slave is he who gives himself up to the exhausting tyranny of any desire say that of wealth or honor or pleasure! He is *ter quaterque*[90] enthralled. Cease then O man whosoever to strive by drinking to slake the thirst & learn rather to control the strong appetites & let them rage till they sleep fatigued & this repose will not be long in coming to them.

15 March- Walked before breakfast on beach. After breakfast rode horseback to North Side. Saw & started a pelican. [Drawing of bird on water] Read a little in Edwards & Degerando & Scott & La Fontaine. Played chess & was beaten. My pains seem just tottering & I am anxious to see whether they will quit me or remain - I pray & strive for their departure = NOT MY WILL =[91]

16 March Rode horseback before breakfast. Mem. saw last evening a sea-egg: in shape round & flat say ¾ of inch thick & thickly set with little white points or rays which on near examination were seen to be in continual motion apparently from the vitality within.
Walked to day to "Smith field." Played chess, read - drank cane liquor, saw boy with mask &c. to prevent his eating dirt. !
Cashew nut – Franchepon - is a flowering tree from whose blossoms a perfume is extracted in France.

17 March. Rode horseback with Mrs Derby - drank some cane liquor at 'Concordia' - returned - light breakfast.

Had passport viséed; the signature however being good only for 3 times 24 hours. As I have no intention of leaving the island immediately, the only advantage gained is the knowledge of the fact that within such time before departure I must have the signature renewed - & probably without any charge whereas those who come

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[89] French – Four Methusalahs [that is, exceedingly long lifes] added end to end would not bring to a conclusion what a single person desires. La Fontaine, *Fables*, book viii, number 25: Les deux chiens et l'âne mort (The two dogs and the dead donkey).
[90] Latin – thrice and four times (blessed, in the original line in Virgil)
[91] Reference to Christ's prayer on the Mount of Olives, before the Passion, in Luke 22: 42 - "not my will, but thine, be done."

unprovided with an American passport are subjected to a tax of $2.50 for a pass to St Thomas & of $9, I think, for one to U.S.A.

The ladies last evening talked of a rose here found which is white in the morning, pink at noon & red at night & forthwith dies.

A turtle 84 pounds was offered at the door for 2 bits a pound = 16 cents.

18th March - Rode horseback - heard of new law or decree by which colored free people are put on level with whites; one Heyliger is made governor's aid. The free blacks have been admitted to the governor's levees of late. The reason of this measure & of the choice of this time for adopting it I don't know.

To day I saw the process of removal of the sugar from the coolers going on at 'Concordia', one or two negroes shovelling it like so much wet gravel from the cooler into tubs which were carried on the head to the curing house & there I suppose thrown into hogsheads. This is called potting the sugar.

In evening Major Uarestress called & spoke of the new proclamation &c.[92] It seems that Denmark plumes itself a little on having led the way among European nations (?) in abolishing the slave trade. She passed a law prohibiting that traffic to go into operation at the end of 10 years (when?)[93] & in order that none might suffer for want of laborers on their plantations offers of a loan from government were made to those who should need, & apply within a certain time. Now it is perhaps a part of the same policy (or humanity we may hope) that produces this new proclamation. The present governor Von Scholten is said to have contemplated some measure of this kind for some time & to have had conversations with the English Secretary of _ (Lord Bathurst)[94] &c when in London, relative to this matter. Von Scholten is said to be invested with complete power here & to have much influence at home (Denmark).

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[92] In 1830, governor von Scholten proposed to the Danish Crown a "Plan for an improved and more distict organization of Your Majesty's coloured subjects in the West India colonies". By Royal decrees from 1830 to 1834, the free-colored population of the Virgin Islands gained legal equality with whites; see Boyer, 50-52, Lawaetz, *von Scholten*, 198-201.

[93] Danish Royal Ordinance of March 16, 1792, see Lawaetz, *von Scholten*, 189.

[94] Bathurst, Henry (1762-1834), third Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, 1812-1827. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online, 29 July 2011.

The decree is thought by those inhabitants of St Croix whom I have seen, to be ill-judged; some say ill-timed on account of the insurrection now existing in Martinico - but it was suggested that possibly the time should be taken to secure the goodwill of the free blacks here as a precaution - although no rising is here to be feared now.

19 March - nothing remembered.

20 March Sunday. Rode to Mr Ritchie's Estate "Golden Grove" to pass a little time with him.
After dinner rode over to Dr Stevens at Grove Place. Mem. conversation about Dr Cooper president of Columbia (then King's) college. General Hamilton (half brother to Dr Stevens). The Hospital ground was then shooting ground & in 1768 the population of New York about 13 000. In 1778 Dr Stevens left for Scotland where he studied medicine & made his famous experiments on digestion. - Mem his story about his temperance opinion of pork & fish - habits of exercise, while at New York. He has the gout now, at 78. His friend Mr Low: & young Dr Stevens[95] - successful in operating on iliac artery.

21st March. Went to "Carlton" where young Dr Stevens resides. Mr Ritchie told me of Ch. Just Shaw's scientific acquirements - ornithology & chemistry & his abandoning cigars. I read a little of Cicero & something about Stevens' practice in yellow fever at Trinidad -

23 March Went to Bassin. Called on Mr Ridgway, passed the "Morning Star" estate & another where are seven hundred acres & say 500 negroes.

24 March Returned to West End. Mem conversation about negro, superstitions, 'ware wolf, obe, Jumbe.'[96] Saw cashew fruit.-

[95] Possibly William Stevens (1789-1862), see Jensen, *For the health*, 61.
[96] Ware wolf - werewolf; obeah - person or thing associated with witchcraft, or folk medicine; jumby (also jumbee, zumbi) - ghost or evil spirit.

25 Sent letter to Grandfather Ripley containing substance of the following notes.
Visited Hermit Low, with face & beard & apparel meet for his appellation. A room not filthy or disagreeable, without however any appearance of attention to orderly arrangement & filled with furniture of various sorts covered with dust or dusty books which the worms have eaten through & through till the pages can no more be separated without tearing. Some few volumes apparently more recently used (for many have been untouched I suppose for a score or two of years) can be still read.

The old man admitted us freely & talked much, quoted Young[97]

"Not deeply to discern nor much to know

Mankind was born to wonder & adore"

He also quoted from Pope & was evidently familiar with him & Dryden.[98]

"If simple bread & milk will do the feat

The pleasure lies in thee tho not the meat"

was another quotation & the universal prayer, which he said expressed his own views well.[99] He is 'catholic' & talked about the Trinity, but not like a bigot. He showed some acuteness as a grammarian in his Greek. Loves Celsus[100] & Thomas a Kempis.[101]

Born at St Kitts 23 February 1749. 50. Came to St Croix 1778. Eyes good. Read chapter in Bible to us. Seldom wine. Rum as medication.

His critical manner of noticing *'εν*[102], & I am <u>he</u>.

His longevity he attributes to natural strength of constitution. He has necessity of rising[103] frequently in night, the cause of which he stated with a "saving your presence." He spoke of pronunciation of pour &c by Sheridan & "Zealots". He does not

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[97] Young, Edward (English poet, 1681-1765), *Night thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* (1742): Night ninth, the consolation, verses 1874-1875: “Not deeply to discern, no*t* much to know/ Mankind was born to wonder, and adore.”
[98] Pope, Alexander (English poet, 1688-1744); Dryden, John (English poet, 1631-1700).
[99] Pope’s second satire of the second book of Horace, paraphrased, verses 15-16: “"If then plain bread and milk will do the feat / The pleasure lies in you, and not the meat;" Pope's “The universal prayer”, 1738.
[100] Celsus - unclear; could refer to a first century C.E. Roman medical author, a second century Greek philosopher who wrote against Christianity, or a first to second century Roman jurist.
[101] Kempis, Thomas á (German monk, 1380-1471), *The imitation of Christ*, one of the best known Christian devotional books.
[102] Greek - oneness, the unity.
[103] The manuscript (page E19) says: "He has necessity of ~~urnting~~ rising". This is the only instance in which a self-censored word is evident ("urinating").

"trouble himself much about the world so long as it does not trouble him - He did not know of pope's death[104] nor evince a lively concern in affairs. He has written for some books to be "put up in boxes so tight that none but such bookworms as himself can get them" which he said with apparent enjoyment of his own pleasantry. He did not laugh that I remember nor am I sure that he smiled - but perfect contentment was manifest on his brow & face. Tolerable preservation of teeth, full face - good stature.

Books destroyed by worms, furniture crazy & various - sofa bed, no coverlet or sheets, room spacious enow. Ink & letters &c.

26–27 & 28 March Was prostrate, weak & 29 & 30 began to pick up a little strength.

31 March Read a good deal for me & walked out.

April 1831

April 1. Walked & read - The people here are mindful of Good Friday. There has been sacred singing for several evenings in the neighborhood & to day there has been service in 2 churches, the females all habited in black & white, as I hear. To-night too the choir is again heard above & amid the bluster of a turbulent wind which has been busy since morning. I have read & played chess.

Among other things, read the report of governor Von Scholten which he submitted to the King of Denmark last year & which having been sanctioned is now to go into effect as a plan of fixing the relative stations &c of the free colored people. It remains for certain committees to classify the individuals according to character & rank.

April 2. Saturday - The rattle of the police servant calling inhabitants to sweep the streets is heard Wednesdays & Saturdays. Would they were called to paint or sod

[104] Pius VIII, who died on 1 December 1830.

them green. The dazzling white makes us fear the precocious blindness of Laplanders & Florentines.

3d April Showers kept me at home.

St. Thomas, 4-5 April 1831

4th April Sailed for St Thomas with Captain McAlpine whose most mixed character makes him at once the swearer, the companion, the friendly & attentive captain, & the tippler. 2 ladies were passengers one grievously sick yet glad of it. I was sick & glad too.

We arrived at VIII ½ P.M. at St Thomas & after trying in vain at Mrs Hinson's was lucky enough at half past nine to get into good quarters among old friends at Mrs Kelly's. Miss & Mr Coggeshall[105] & Mr Derby are here & I conclude to go to Porto Rico with Mr Derby tomorrow morning.[106]

5th April- A fine morning shows this beautiful place to great advantage. Its peculiar situation & threefold division on English, French man, & Government hills is picturesque. Bluebeard's castle was pointed out to me, an old ruined wall. [Drawing of three hills in foreground, low mountainous in background] Three brows project in front of the great ridge of hills & on these three the town is built, quasi three towns.-

I passed all my time in St Thomas in expectation of leaving it so soon that I made no efforts to see any thing else than the obvious variety of traffic & shipping &c. It is a busy place though it is said to have been much more so. It reminded me of the Italian cities by constant chatter of negroes, which is as unintelligible as a strange tongue. The harbor is almost completely land locked & quite full of vessels, among which the U.S. Frigate *Java* is a formidable & magnificent sight. An English & several

[105] George Coggeshall, the seaman, and author of *Thirty-six voyages to various parts of the world*.
[106] The decision to move to Puerto Rico is not explained in the journal. St. Croix may have been depressing - see Scott, "Charles Walker's letters from Puerto Rico, 1835-1837," 49, which indicates for 1836, "the houses are so full of the sick, that it appears like a hospital". St Croix may also have proved boring after several weeks (see Coggeshall, *Thirty-six voyages*, 264, 503). Edward probably gathered knowledge of opportunities with the Massachusetts residents in business in San Juan, and may have obtained letters of introduction from his contacts in Boston and New York.

Danish men of war are here at this time. The salute passed between the English & the fort just as the *Catalina* in which we had taken passage for Porto Rico, got underweigh. The echo rang from side to side of the amphitheatre of hills & we enjoyed it as much perhaps as if we were honored by its roar.

We passed sail rock in the evening, famous for the resemblance to a large vessel under sail & for the story of the tipsy Frenchman, &

Puerto Rico, 6 April 1831

6th April when I rose Porto Rico was all a-high & the castle at St Johns[107] could be seen with a spy-glass at sunrise. We anchored about 9 & waited till 11 for our visit from the custom house & health officers. Then went ashore, took lodgings in a *posada*[108] of Spanish character &c. Went with Mr Mason[109] our friendly consul[110] to the Captain general's to present our passports &c.

After dining at 3 PM. with half dozen Spanish gentlemen at our inn, we strolled around visited the new theatre, the fortifications, a church & returned to sleep on a cot with sacking – *sans* blanket, *sans* bed.[111]

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[107] English speakers of the time did not use the Spanish names, but rather Saint Johns and Porto Rico.
[108] According to entry of 23 April 1831, *Posada de la Unión*: Spanish - Inn of the Union
[109] Mason, Sidney (Gloucester, MA, 1799 or 1800 - New York City, 1871), was employed by the Boston firm of Wheeler and Gay when he first visited Puerto Rico in early 1821. He returned months later, encouraged by his superiors (see journal entries for 16 July and 22 October 1831). In 1823 he married María Benita Dorado, daughter of a prominent government official in San Juan, and they had two children, Catalina (1824-1905) and Alphonso Sidney (1829-1839). The United States appointed him consul in September, 1829, and Spain recognized the position in May, 1831. When Emerson arrived in San Juan, Mason and his younger brother John were partners in an establishment devoted to import and export transactions and, as typical at the time, short-term loans and international credit. George W. Lewis became the Masons' partner in 1831. Two years later, the elder Mason took a six-month leave to visit the United States, and left Emerson as his deputy for consular affairs. In 1835, Mason again visited New England, and his wife died in Massachusetts. He returned to Puerto Rico, then spent two years in Europe, and settled in New York City after the death of his son. Some time after that, his brother moved from San Juan to Philadelphia. The firm in San Juan was taken over by George Latimer, who also became United States consul. Mason enjoyed considerable financial success in his new investments in New York City. William and Ralph Waldo Emerson continued in contact with him until, at least, 1859. See Gloucester, Massachusetts, vital records, at http://www.ma-vitalrecords.org/MA/Essex/Gloucester/MarriagesD.shtml;
Mason family genealogy, at http://kinnexions.com/kinnexions/mason/rr01/rr01_185.htm; [Julian-James]. *Biographical sketches*, 1908, (it includes reproductions of portraits of Sidney Mason, his wife María Benita, and father-in-law José Dorado); Palerm, *Despachos*, 28-29, 31-32, 41-5; Emerson, RW, *The letters*, 3:17-19; 5: 133-134.
[110] Early United States consuls were mostly concerned with commerce, American merchant ships and sailors, and American property in their jurisdictions.
[111] French – without blanket, without bed

7th. April. Took breakfast at 7, two hours before other people & walked out; went to Mason's *comptoir*,[112] where the view as from our inn windows to the south is beautiful - St Johns is an island as well as city. We see friars in the street. A café with billiards & groups of loungers, houses generally built with verandas projecting from the windows, ill odors rushing from the doors & courtyards- No carts or chaises not one to be seen, mules & horses now & then with baskets on them. No bookstores, but several variety shops & chocolate & grocery stores.

A quarter dollar has 68 coppers in it & a gold piece 1/8 of Spanish doubloon is worth 2¼ Porto Rico dollars.[113]

Our host is a colored man who speaks English & his major domo speaks French for our accommodation. The former was many years in U.S. & by industry as cook &c has acquired property & slaves. I believe some 13 servants about the house do the work which a third of the number might as well or better perform. Good nature however prevails & atones to one of my turn for want of cleanliness & polish.

At 11 o clock we left town for the estate owned by Mr Mason & Mr Hoop.[114] By water the distance may be 5 miles which was most pleasantly traversed in a boat

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[112] Sidney Mason's "compting house" was located outside the city walls, on a private commercial wharf; at, or near, today's Ochoa Building, at the end of calle Tanca, near Pier One (see Tapia, *Mis memorias*, 56; Sepúlveda Rivera, *San Juan: historia ilustrada*, 128, 195). Mason's also had a store on Fortaleza street, and his home (where Emerson lived for some time) was on San Justo Street (see Cifre de Loubriel, *Catálogo de extranjeros*, 34). From home to office, Emerson or Mason would have walked south on San Justo street to exit the city at the gate, and then walked in a southeasterly direction for the length of a city block. The area is now radically changed; the city wall was torn down, Tanca street continues to the sea, and landfill occupies the original shoreline.

[113] See www.measuringworth.com/calculators/compare : 1 US dollar (1831) might be worth 25 to 600 dollars of 2010. 1 US dollar = 1 Spanish silver peso = 272 maravedís ("coppers"); one doubloon = about 19 "Puerto Rico dollars" (a reference to macuquina – irregular – coins, used as local currency). Undated note in the Memorandum Book, Houghton MS Am 1280.235 (333): "Porto Rico currency compared to American varies. $1 = 84.16 cents in early part of April: Afterwards $1 = 75 in May."

[114] Hoop is later spelled Hoope; Hacienda Santa Barbara was in the municipality of Bayamón; see plan in the Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/map_item.pl?data=/home/www/data/gmd/gmd4/g4974/g4974b/ct000296.jp2&style=gmd&itemLink=r?ammem/gmd:@field(NUMBER+@band(g4974b+ct000296))&title=Plano%20de%20la%20hacienda%20Sta.%20Barbara%20perteneciente%20a%20Sidney%20Mason%20esplicaci%26oacute;n%20[sic]%20del%20n%26uacute;mero%20de%20cuerdas%20de%20ca%26ntilde;as%20que%20tiene%20al%20d%26iacute;a%20de%20la%20fecha

The estate was located north of the present-day Bayamón station of Tren Urbano, and seems to have included the area now called "la cambija". The river's southernmost loop seen in the map touched the end of present-day Barbosa street, but the river now runs in a straight channel and the area is changed dramatically. The

pulled by 3 stout fellows. We noticed the trees on the banks of the inlet through which much of our course lay – peculiar by reason of their branches descending & taking root beneath the water, & also by reason of the oysters which were attached in thousands to these pendulous shoots.[115]

The landing place was a mile or more from the estate, whither we walked admiring the novel scenery, adorned by hills of moderate height but abrupt & rocky forms with a dark tho' interrupted verdure of foliage & grass flung over them. One tree much like a weeping woman stood on the brow of a precipice & drew our eyes & mock-sympathy from whatever point we occupied. There she stood – alas!

At Mr Hoop's we were hospitably entertained in a house which he said was "all in the rough" but which was nevertheless a comfortable residence for the climate. A hammock of grass & a couple of sofas served to invite & give repose. Three neighbors, Mess. Grant, Watlington & Stewart, joined us at dinner time.[116]

Visited the sugar house which is small. Noticed the molasses on the top instead of at the bottom in the coolers, a circumstance arising from the new process adopted on this & some few neighboring estates in the preparation of sugar. A Mr Gore discovered[117] & Mr Mason & al[118] have bought the secret - & Mr Watlington added an improvement of his own, by means of which it is hoped that Porto Rico sugars may be made equal to St. Croix. Hitherto St Croix has been much superior in brilliancy & color. The samples shown us from Mr Watlington's estate seemed to promise well, resembling the luster of fine rock candy.

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details of the passage between San Juan and Bayamón "in ancient times" are described in Stahl, *Fundación de Bayamón*, 20.

[115] He describes a mangrove. See Appendix 3 (Botanical).

[116] A registry of naturalized foreigners in Bayamón (AGPR, FGE, serie Extranjeros, caja 115A, legajo "Relación circunstanciada de los Estrangeros Domiciliados que existen en este Partido de Bayamon. Bayamón, 30 July 1830 by Josef de Rivera) mentions Guillermo Grant (native of England, had left his passport in San Juan at the time of interview), Juan Hopp (native of Ireland, letter of domicile dated 3 January 1822, plantation-owner), Francisco Stuart (native of Scotland, letter of domicile dated 24 December 1821, overseer of Hacienda Santa Cruz), and Francisco Watlington (native of England, letter of domicile 30 October 1823, overseer of Hacienda Ysleta of Juan Morison).

[117] Henry G. Gore advertised in the *Gaceta* from 29 September to 16 October 1830 that he had just arrived in Puerto Rico from the island of Antigua to offer his services to set up pans and stills under an improved plan, and to teach a method to obtain muscavado sugar of the best quality. He resided Sidney at Mason's home.

[118] Latin, abbreviated – et alia – and others.

Mr Hoop told us of *culantro* a remedy for the rose, (a disorder thought by some incurable I believe) which disables so many negroes.[119]

We saw here the croton oil plant with blossoms like red coral & plenty of roses, - also the sensitive plant growing wild.

The cattle here look well & not as at St Croix.

Conversation about Judges & lawsuits, & bribery, & Spanish society.

Mem. Mr Gott our very agreeable companion in this excursion presented a cigar to the mistress of the house where we rested a few moments & the gift was accepted as would have been a bouquet. - It is as common here for females to smoke as it is for soldiers in our country or more so at present.

8th. April Rode out in the morning, our host Mr Hoop having furnished us with horses on which we were seated after the fashion of the island – a basket on each side & our cloaks spread beneath us - the basket supporting the thighs & the legs hanging before, without stirrups, a mode very new & no less agreeable to me.

Scenery still fine – we went to the house of Mr Watlington, thence to that of Mr Grant & then by that of Mr Stewart back to breakfast at Mr Hoop's. Noticed corkscrew palm trees.

Mem. gregory wood (sic). Roads good for horseback riding & at this season. In the rainy season extremely muddy; hence the basket fashion.

Mem conversation about hurricanes, former cultivation of coffee, houses built on piles, cattle &c beneath. Character of governor[120] estimable. - education here, Catholics - no literature - fireflies sometimes used as breast pins.

Returned to St Johns.

PM. Walked to a house said to have been the first built on the island by the companions or followers of Columbus[121] - situated on one of the north west points - &

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[119] Jensen *For the health*, 93-95) indicates that "West Indian rose" was a synonym for elephantiasis (filariasis, a parasitic disease transmitted by mosquitoes), but that "rose" also referred to erysipelas, a bacterial infection of the skin. Nevertheless, the term also brings to mind the *mal de la rosa* (Spanish - disease of the rose), now called pellagra. It is characterized by dermatitis (skin irritation), diarrhea, and dementia, and caused by a severe dietary deficiency of niacin (a vitamin of the B-complex group). The disease was typically associated with poverty and a diet composed substantially of maize, with little or no protein. As Edward noted in St. Croix (January 13), corn meal was the principal food of slaves.

[120] Miguel de La Torre, military commander 1822-1823, governor of Puerto Rico 1823-1837.

founded on a rock whose inequalities have been smoothed & filled up by brick & mortar so as to give it somewhat of a fortress appearance – [Drawing of block-like 2-level house, above high base over a mound] It is now filled with carpenter's rubbish but appears to be preserved with some care as if considered a relic. The barrows &c for the convicts are kept in it.

We met in the walk several different groups such as 3 South American emigrants - 2 gaily dressed Spanish women - 3 boys astride one horse. 4 Spanish sailors with one sleeve of the jacket hanging & round Spanish hats & sashes. Outside the gates we found the troops under review & enjoyed the music of a large band. Troops in white; not exhibiting the discipline of West Point. Saw the governor or captain general taking his walk in the square [in] front of the theatre; this square decorated with almond trees is very pretty though small. Parrots hang at many doors & scream in concert with children. Returned to our *posada*.

9th. April Mem the cries of the watch by night. Went in quest of books to a variety store, found the prices high & the books chiefly religious. No New Testaments or Bibles, but selections &c.

Our table is spread very plentifully & all the meats &c served together boiled & roast & vegetables then come dishes of sweetmeats & then coffee to those who like. Catalonian red wine & water are the drinks.

Mr Derby left me for St Thomas. I called on Dr Armstrong.[122]

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[121] He refers to "Casa Blanca". See Appendix 2 for his later description, with correct historical background.

[122] Armstrong, Francis, as will become apparent. The Armstrong family of St. Croix produced at least four physicians who moved to Puerto Rico temporarily or permanently. The Registry of Foreigners of the government of Puerto Rico holds information for Lucas (arrived 1819), Francisco (1822), Tomás (1827), and Pedro Armstrong (1848). The patriarch of the present-day descendants seems to be Pedro Armstrong Creagh (Bassin, St. Croix, 1800 - Ponce, Puerto Rico, 1883). His uncle, Francis Armstrong Markoe (1783-1848), had a son also named Francis (Tortola, British Virgin Islands, 1812 - St. Croix, 1880), who studied medicine. The family genealogy (Armstrong Mejía de Blila and Villares Armstrong, *Familia*, 26-32, 66-68, 72, 76) does not indicate that either of these two lived in Puerto Rico. The Registry of Foreigners shows that Francisco Armstrong was authorized to practice medicine on 12 June 1822. In 1823, he was a resident of Bayamón and requested authorization to move to San Juan. In 1826 he requested a certificate of residence and stated he was a Catholic. The following year he applied for, and was immediately granted a certificate of naturalization. At that time (August, 1827) he stated he had just been joined by his son, also named Francisco, who had concluded his studies at the College in Dublin. See AGPR, FGE, serie Extranjeros, caja 90, legajos Lucas, Francisco, Tomás, Pedro Armstrong; in caja 115A, a registry of naturalized foreigners in Loíza, dated 6 July

10th. April Sunday. Went into the country, noticed the *Mahagua* tree - used for fences & its bark for ropes.

Mem. Mr Sidney Mason has past one-third life here; prefers speaking Spanish now to English.

Encomium of Spanish character – not given to slander.

Governor's name Torre.

Mem gambling & cockfighting common here.

Inhabitants 330 000 – of which 220 000 free colored & white.

Epithet *Iberos*[123] given to the Creole peasantry. Free labor is often hired here.

11th April Walked, wrote letter to Mr Rogers. Read Porto Rico gazette.

Went to barber (2 reals for cutting hair) read *Ivanhoe*.

P.M walked out found the troops as usual parading. Mem 2 drawbridges.

The people here walk after dinner & I rejoice to see that they know the use of limbs & do not seem to fear fever from a step or two.

At Mr John Mason's[124] met a woman who says she is widow of Torres formerly minister from Colombia to U.S. now keeping a small milliner's shop here.[125] If true - remarkable - -

12th April Walk - Noticed the cocoa tree said to be the same or successor to that round which the first adventurers held council[126] & a tomb stone said to be erected over some who fell by hand of the natives.

1830, includes a Dr. Francisco Armstrong and his family; he was a native of Santa Cruz, and settled in the town in 1824.

[123] Correctly, *jíbaros*, the name for the rural inhabitants of Puerto Rico. *Iberos* are the ancient or current inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula.

[124] Mason, John (Gloucester, MA, 1802 - Philadelphia, 1874), brother of Sidney; married Mary Eliza Babson in Gloucester, in 1828. Three of their children were born in San Juan (from 1834 to 1840) and two in Philadelphia (1844 and 1845). For more information, see biographical note on his brother Sidney.

[125] Torres, Manuel, first accredited ambassador of the Republic of Colombia in the United States died near Philadelphia on 15 July, 1822, according to the article "Death of Mr. Torres", *Niles Weekly Register*, 27 July 1822: 347-349.

[126] Emerson refers to a coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*), but these were not introduced in the Island until 1549, after four decades of Spanish colonization; see Liogier, *Las plantas introducidas en las Antillas*, 19, 34.

Ivanhoe – Exercise newspaper, dinner. Talked Italian with a Triestano. Walk on sea coast & to the "marine"[127], conversation of supercargos[128] & al.

13 April Walked eastward again, passing through a gate[129] & entrenchment a 1/2 mile beyond the city gates & another a 1/2 mile farther on. Each would afford place for a resistance against force from the country to the south.

The view of the range of hills now double, now treble now fourfold, (according to the light) skirting the shore & horizon to the south & along westward & of the mountain to the southeast is truly one of the finest I remember.

After breakfast *Ivanhoe* (Spanish) – an exercise; bought needles &c.

Dined with Mr Sidney Mason - pleased with his Spanish table. His Spanish lady was grave & ate little, seeming complaisant withal, though sober.

Walked out & hastened back in fear of finding gates shut, as no persons but officers are allowed to enter after say VII & 1/2.

There is much bustle & gaiety after dinner, an appearance of recreation &c quite agreeable & exciting. Song & music rude enough but *muy alegre*[130] strikes the ear from different quarters. The café was full of groups chatting or playing. It is 1/2 exchange 1/2 barroom in its character. -

14 April. Walked to the bridge that joins St. Johns to the main island, crossing the stream that comes in from the north east breaking over the rocks with a surf that pleases eye & ear. Fine prospect from bridge. Here are the restes of an old wall which I suppose would be soon made defensible, affording thus the third station for resistance, outside of the town walls.

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[127] Apparently refers to "la marina", the harbor section of San Juan.
[128] Supercargo - representative of the ship's owner on board a merchant ship, responsible for overseeing the cargo and its sale.
[129] The land gate ("Puerta de Tierra") or gate of Saint James ("Puerta de Santiago").
[130] Spanish – very gay.

Breakfast. Bought slippers of a man who has 22 journeymen - Talked with landlord - Newspaper. *Ivanhoe*. Exercise. Dined *avec trop d'avidité*.[131] Walked - took a *bollow* or *bollito* or *panal*,[132] mere refined sugar with white of eggs in water.

15 April. Walked as usual beyond the gates. Breakfasted with Mr John Mason at 9½. Scribbled in this note book to make up arrears; had visit from Mr Gott & took pleasant walk toward northern wall. Studied Spanish a little. Dined at home; walked to outermost wall.

16 April Walked - Was told at breakfast that rum was sold at 21 to 24 cents per gallon here last year & this. - Scribbled up my arrears – changed *dobloncito*[133] for 5 Porto Rico dollars exchange being at 25 per cent. Visited Mr Gott who is well lodged. He tells me of Ralph Emerson[134] at Patillas. After dinner walked my 2 miles out & back. Read *Ivanhoe*. This is the last day of my 25th year.

17th April Began my birthday with a walk at 6 in company with a Spaniard, somewhat an invalid. Saw young men playing at bochas. (bowling)
Mem. Said at table 15 000 inhabitants in St Johns.

After breakfast walked, read, visited one of the churches- large & vaulted but without the splendor & art of Italy & France. Images void of beauty must derive all value from the associations &c.

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[131] French – with too much eagerness.
[132] Spanish – bollo, bollito (loaf, small loaf); panal (honeycomb).
[133] Spanish – small doubloon; a different coin than the doubloon; see exchange rate noted in journal on 7 April 1831 and in letter of 20 January 1833.
[134] By this date, Ralph Emerson, a second cousin, was back in Boston. Waldo mentioned it to Edward on a letter dated 20-23 April 1831, and added "He has suffered from fraud and from sickness in Porto Rico, and now has a good prospect of work in Europe at Paris and sails next week." See Emerson RW, *The letters*, 1: 321-322.
"Rodulfo" Emerson was included in the report of "transients" in Patillas, 3 July 1830, "native of the United States of America, occupied in the sale of a shipment he introduced from that country"; "Rafael" Emerson, native of Boston, living in Patillas, and dedicated to the cultivation of his own land, requested a certificate of domicile in documents dated 28-31 July 1830. His parents were Samuel Emerson and Oliva Barrell, "Catholic christians." He showed no certificate of baptism, but brought three witnesses who knew him from Boston: Guillermo H. Tracy, Samuel Golt, Louis Olmiere. The certificate was granted on 31 July and he gave the required oath on the same day. See AGPR, FGE, serie Extranjeros, caja 115a ("Relación de los estrangeros que se hallan en este partido en clase de Transeuntes" by José de Guillermety); caja 96 file on Rafael Emerson.

Dinner. Walked with Mr John Mason & 5 or 6 others.

18 April. Walked- 2 miles breakfast. Invited by Mr McCormick to his country house. Wrote to W.E. & Mother - & after Spanish Exercises & *Ivanhoe* & Dinnner, rode out 6 miles to Puerto Nuevo where I found a hospitable reception & passed the night.

19 April. Rode out between 6 & 8 AM with my host.
mem. the spear of the palmetto always points eastward noticed by Columbus &c.- mem. also the negroes of Mr McCormick assembling in front of his house every evening repeating their rosary[135] &c his remarks about their want of all just sense of morality. No good work on the West Indies.

20th April Rode in morng to Mr Hoope's – passed the day - Read *Ivanhoe* &c.
Mem. that yesterday evening rode with Mr McCormick to Robly village[136] where a new church has been for 2 or 3 years in building costing $ 14 000 already, but excepting the imposing appearance of a large dome it has nothing very remarkable about its exterior, & is yet unfinished. The village consists chiefly of rudely thatched huts, some shops, & a billiard room.

21st April. Rode early in morning to Mr Wadlington's; found him in his sugar house. He tells me the new process, will make good sugar - where grey sugar was formerly made, but cleanness & good coppers &c are indispensable so that some of his trials at his neighbors' estates may not be successful &c.
After breakfast read *Ivanhoe* - climbed the hill; siesta -& dinner – walked &c.

22d April rode to village[137] &c.

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[135] Law required that slaveowners gather their slaves every evening to "instruct them in the principles of the Catholic religion" to be followed by the prayer of the rosary, see Santaella, “Reglamento sobre la educación, trato y ocupaciones que deben dar a sus esclavos …" in Coll y Toste, *Boletín Histórico*, 10: 262-273, esp. 264, Chapter II, articles 1-2. Evening prayers are also described for a plantation in Guayama in 1836 in Scott, "Charles Walker's letters from Puerto Rico, 1835-1837," 43.
[136] Roble, present-day Río Piedras in the municipality of San Juan.
[137] Probably Bayamón.

Mem. Mr Hoope's account of rainy seasons. Roads nearly or completely impassable. Clearing the grounds causes gradual improvement in this respect.
Mr Watlington told me that in the estate 'Isleta'[138] from about 100 acres with 100 negroes, 366 hogsheads sugar were made last year by virtue of good management. In same estate he tells me soil is so poor as not to allow rattooning[139] to the same extent as many estates in St Croix (perhaps here) at least 60 acres being planted anew every year.
Read *Ivanhoe* & P[aper?] & walked.

23 April. Rode to 'Isleta' walked. After breakfast rode to Pueblo Viejo which name I suppose belongs in common to the neighborhood of the ferry whither I was bound, though at the place of embarking I found but one house. The ordinary price (6 reals i.e 6/8 of a Porto Rico dollar) was asked & paid for my passage which took more than an hour in a sail boat managed by 2 men.
Took up my lodgings again in the *posada del union* walked &c.

24. April - Walked – read – Spanish &c. Dined at Mr John Mason's - Walked. Saw Don Jose Dorao[140] with whom I sailed once to Gibraltar & who is father of Sidney Mason's wife: quite an incident this *rencontre*.[141]

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[138] As spelled later in the journal, Ysleta, in Bayamón, was the estate of Cornelius Kortright (mentioned later), native of Santa Cruz and domiciled in Bayamón by October, 1819; see AGPR, FGE, serie Extranjeros, caja 102, legajo Cornelio Kortright.
[139] Ratoon, from the Spanish *retoño*, fresh shoot or sprout, the cutting down of plants to induce them to send up new shoots.
[140] Dorado García, José Antonio (Ciudad Real, La Mancha, Spain, 1769 - San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1831). Trained at the Madrid College of Surgery, he came to Puerto Rico as a military surgeon; participated in the defense of the city against the English in 1797 (was wounded in action at Castillo San Jerónimo); one of the first users of smallpox vaccine in San Juan; later held administrative positions in government. At death, had the honors of "Comisario ordenador de Marina" and "caballero de la Real Orden Americana de Isabel la Católica". Married to Catalina Serrano; father of at least four daughters, María Benita (died 1835, wife of Sidney Mason), Clemencia (wife of José R. Fernández), Justa (ca. 1810-1832, wife of Carlos de Castro), María Belén (ca. 1815-1831). See Riera, *Anatomía y cirugía española*, 50; Coll y Toste, *Boletín Histórico*, 1: 184-185; Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 2322, doc. 6, f. 4v-6, 1 March 1804; AHASJ, PC, Entierros, libro 28, 1831-1834, burial on 20 September 1831, folio 26v-27. Emerson says he was 64 years old at death, but the burial certificate says 62, and in 1804 he declared 34.
[141] French - encounter, coincidence.

25 April Walked breakfast at Mr Sidney Mason's. Read – went a-shopping, dinnner, walk.

Mem. boys & men playing ball against the walls & 3 grave priests enjoying the spectacle.

Mem theatre 7 years building $40,000 a year's cost. Duty on flour ordinarily $5 for a few months $9 but lessened again: $1 of this is devoted to the theatre. Price of flour when duty was $9 rose to $20- & thus American flour was in effect prohibited. Spanish flour requires a large admixture of American in order to make tolerable bread, so that it was necessary to diminish the duty.[142]

26th April. Rode horseback. beyond the bridge.

27 April. Walked &c.

28 April - Received letters from Mother & W.E. up to 2 April. Walked & wrote to Mr J. Wheelwright.

At dinner found young German clerk who receives $600 & board for attending to German correspondence & other business in St Thomas.

Walked out to view troops firing at a target. Few Locksleys[143] among them. Wrote to mother.

29 April Walked, wrote to William, read &c.

30 April walked, wrote to Mr Derby. Studied Spanish. Drew on W^m^[144]

[142] After 1823, the metropolitan government took measures to position Spain as the only supplier for Cuba and Puerto Rico, without granting the islands similar advantages for their products in the Spanish market. This was enforced more specifically for Puerto Rico from 1827 on; see Cruz Monclova, *Historia*, 258-259.

[143] Perhaps a reference to Robin of Locksley (Robin Hood) and his skill in archery.

[144] That is, received money on his brother William's credit; see letter of 8 May 1831.

May 1831

May 1. Walked – Read - &c. - Evening walk.
Mem 2 gigs at once quite a spectacle for the Porto Rico people.

May 2 Walk- Read Spanish. Agreed to stay 6 months with Mr. Mason for bed & board – wrote postscard to W.E. informing him &c., sent by Mr Schreiber via St. Thomas. Walked &c.

May 3. Went to Compting[145] house & began my mercantile[146] pursuits by examining some accounts sales &c in search of errors – liked it better than bills of costs, perhaps because in commerce we expect figures, in justice &c we look for ratiocination.

May 4. Went to compting at 6. Breakfast between 9 & 10 compt till 4¼ dinner. Walk with Spaniard, no reading - bed -

May 5. Compting. Walk after dinner, no reading but gazette.

May 6 & 7. Compting Room &c. Evening called on Mr Viner, who says present English ministers are interested (for their family connections &c.) to preserve the commerce &c of Great Britain & therefore to keep her at peace.

May 8. Sunday. Walked & read & wrote: sailed.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[147]

St Johns, P.R. 8th May 1831

Dear William

[145] "Compt", archaic version of "count"
[146] "merc." in manuscript, could also stand for "mercenary".
[147] MHi Ms N-251 (189).

Having an oppportunity to St Thomas, I thought you might be glad to hear, that after a week's experiment of my new occupations at the compting house & residence at Mr Mason's, I am pleased with both. The hours of business—or writing—are from 6. A.M. to 4. P.M. out of which we devote about an hour to *eundo rediendo & morando*[148] at breakfast, say from 9 to 10. Invoices & accounts sales have been my substitute for bail-pieces & bills of exchange. The first pecuniary advantage from my new plan was the destruction of a bill of exchange which I had on Monday last drawn on you for $100, in expectation of going to Havana—& the necessity for which may be deferred now some time, as my contingent expenses will, I hope, be slow in rising to that amount.

In my first contract with Mr Mason, he said that he had not supposed that any such offer, as mere board & lodging, would tempt me & therefore abstained from making it, till he learned from me that my desire of remaining in a warm climate & of learning Spanish & of getting an acquaintance with commerce—a sort of foothold from which I might afterwards advance if good prospects should appear—would make me content to close with such terms as I should thus cease to be heavily burdensome to those at home who [are] laden enough. Mr Mason then readily made the offer, as I mentioned in my last of May 2^{d}, sent via St Thomas, (& Philadelphia perhaps).

Nothing was then said of my washing, an item of expense in the West Indies which is considerable to the neat & enormous to the extravagant in dress. Some days after however, I mentioned it & said that I was prepared to pay for it—as I had neglected to stipulate for it—unless it was convenient for the domestics of the family to take it into their tubs; but Mr Mason said, that it should be paid from the store & I could employ whom I pleased—which I thought an indication of good disposition on his part, as well as an important saving to one who has no income.

Thus if health continues improving or even stationary, I shall only be compelled to borrow from the home purses pocket money for the supply of such waste as time may make in my wardrobe & the little sundries which I may have to buy. At the end of 6 months., if all things go on well, my experiment is made & it is understood that then I am

[148] Latin - going, coming and taking time, lingering [at breakfast, say from 9 to 10].

free to go to Havana or elsewhere, or to make new terms with Mr. Mason & he intimates that he may find my service to be worth the offer of a small salary. Of course such salary may be very small for the first year—but it will be time enough to talk about that 6 months hence.

At present I am thinking about my "where withal shall I be clothed" so much that I must repeat my request (lest the May 2^{d} letter miscarry) that 2 pair summer pantaloons, 2 or 3 pair drawers, 2 or 3 shirts—white vest—cotton jacket, summer shoes—my black-hat—(or if it be not worth sending: mention it, or if it fit you keep it) & socks *ad libitum*.[149] Another strange article you will think is yet quite desirable here, if all accounts are correct about a rainy season that comes on by & by—to wit my india rubbers. The story goes that when it begins to rain here, the showers fall & the streets are wet more or less all the time for weeks & even months successively so that in the country that roads are frequently impassable & in the city a pair of india rubbers might on a special occasion be very valuable. We have pavements in many streets & sidewalks, so that you need not fear that the rainy season will disable us from walking or endanger health, nor need you particularly describe its continued humidity to an anxious lady to the north of New York. But I have reached the end of my time & so must seal this to go by way of St Thomas.

Yours ever

E. B. Emerson

Send me my remaining copy Bacon's *Essays*.[150]

May 9 Compting Room – wrote ex$^{s.}$[151] &c. walked

May 10 Compting Room – wrote - rode horseback.

May 11 Compting Room - read.

May 12 Feast day Ascension.

[149] Latin - as much as you wish.
[150] Bacon, Francis (English philosopher and statesman, 1561-1626). *Essays, moral, economical and political*.
[151] Expenses, [Spanish grammar] exercises?

May 13. Compting &c wrote R.WE.

May 14 Compting. Wrote Mr Sedgwick & W.E.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[152]

St Johns P. Rico. 14 May 1831.

Dear William

I have occasion for some money for present expenses both for clothing, (while I wait for that which I have requested you to send) & for a sort of outfit of sundry little conveniences in my apartment at Mr Mason's such as a little pine table &c., furniture not being generally very abundant in the houses of the West Indians, who in that article usually limit themselves to the supply necessary for the rooms which they inhabit, leaving the occupants of the rest to accommodate themselves, as it is very common here as in France to own a great house & let out one or two stories to mechanics & tradesmen or families. I should have drawn on you therefore to amount of $50 or so by this opportunity, had not Mr Mason said that it would be quite as agreeable to furnish me with such money as was necessary for current expenses, from the store, & leave the draught to me made at some future day when we settle our accounts.

I mention it now that you may be aware of the fact, & because I have nothing else in particular to add to my letter of 8th & postings of 3^{d} instant (sent via St. Thos) except my continued contentment & satisfaction in my present situation. Moreover, I must ask the favor of you to send out my mattress & pillow case & another sheet & towel when you ship my other effects or as soon after as may suit your convenience, & a few New York newspapers will always be agreeable. The trunk or box employed for the packing my apparel &c may be filled up with any thing that is at hand which you think would be serviceable in this warm climate. Hoping that you are pleasantly & profitably employed— & that our friends are well, I bid you good bye in great haste.

Yrs Edw B. E.

[152] MHi Ms N-251 (191).

If you have written to Havana pray advertise me, or those to whom you sent the letters, that I may receive them here.

By the above I would not have you understand that I spend at once the $50—but perhaps some 10 more or less now, & may not need the rest for a great while, should have drawn for $50 to save splitting hairs. Let me add that I find Mrs Sidney Mason a very pleasant *Señora*.[153] She has been in U.S. but never speaks English. Mrs. John Mason is also an amiable woman & native of Massachusetts, I believe of Glocester whence the Masons come. I will thank you to take charge of the letters sent with this & to present the enclosed order with that to Mr S.—& credit me with the sum received.

May 15. Sunday. Wrote to Dr E.R. & read &c.

May 16 Compt room &c

May 17 Ditto

May 18. Ditto. Heard of dissolution American cabinet[154]

May 19.- Compting Room - talked of Burke & grew warm. wrote exs. &c

May 20 Compting amused with letters of - - meant for English.

Codigo del Comercio[155] said to be a transcript of French *code de commerce* – prescribes the mode of book keeping which shall be considered <u>good</u> in law &c 3 books - 1 *diario* or journal; 2 *libro mayor* or ledger; 3 Inventory - account of funds & credit &c.-

After dinner talked French with Marquis de _ at Mr Gotts.-

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[153] Spanish - lady, mature woman.
[154] On 19 April, 1831, President Andrew Jackson dissolved his Cabinet, to quiet political infighting that resulted from a social scandal. The *Gaceta* in San Juan gave the news on 25 May 1831.
[155] The Spanish Commercial Code (regulations that governed business transactions) was not made extensive to Puerto Rico until 17 February 1832, together with the Law for Business Trials (*Ley de Enjuiciamiento Mercantil*) and a Commercial Tribunal (*Tribunal de Comercio*); see Cruz Monclova, *Historia*, 258.

May 21 - 2 American vessels arrived. 1 from North Carolina, 1 from New York.
Walked the *rededor*[156] of the city walls.

May 22 Sunday. Read & walked & sailed - Mem. John Mason's account duellist & fire

May 23. Rested & read &c. dined with Hol. (sic) John Mason talked too warmly.
Mem account of canoes instead of sleighs in North Carolina & difficulty of giving idea of sleighs to the West Indians &c.

This ++ day is *Fiesta de Pasquas* (*de quo quaere*).[157]

May 24. Nothing occurred of great importance.

I walked on the ramparts & thought the Elysian fields[158] could enjoy no better climate & scarcely a finer prospect than that which lay to the South & Southwest across the bay. Those evergreen hills now darkened now irradiated as the clouds rise & fall between them & the spectator, or between them & the king of day,[159] are a beautiful resting place for the eye; their clothing of bushes & trees is ornamental & their attitudes or arrangement quite picturesque. -

May 25. & 26 – Nothing noticeable – except on latter arrived the "Correo" in 22 days from Cadiz. The consular commission of Sidney Mason came back with a document recognising his official character &c signed *Yo El Rey*, as I suppose with the hand proper of Ferdinand.[160] I scribbled the answer to Mr. Van Ness[161] who had accompanied these papers with a letter to Sidney Mason.
Mem. conversation about consuls &c. at St Thomas.

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[156] Spanish – contour, perimeter
[157] Latin – about which I must enquire. Emerson was probably told it was "Pascua de Pentecostés" and did not hear the second word well.
[158] In Greek mythology, where the blessed souls reside.
[159] The sun.
[160] Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 184. The governor's approval of the appointment was made public four months later, and appeared on the first page of the *Gaceta* (3 October 1831: 941).
[161] Cornelius P. Van Ness, United States ambassador to Spain at the time.

May 27. To day came Mr G.[162] Morrison from St Thomas with news of Lafayette's arrest[163] & of the Russians defeated by Poles.[164]
Mem. our dinner conversation &c.

May 28.- Nothing remarkable except personal effort which mem.

May 29 Sunday. Resolved against coffee after dinner - Went to see the balloon raised – The aeronaut does not fancy exercising his own skill in the navigation of our island clouds, & gratifies our eyes with sending up empty silk & cords. After the balloon a ropedancer walked on a tight drawn cable from the upper end of the square in front of theatre to the top of the theatre itself – pausing midway & saluting the crowds kneeling & sitting on the cord.[165]

May 30th. Nothing remarkable[166] – save the general interest in the Lottery drawn to day. *Es costumbre*[167] they say & all gamble in this way; where those who gamble continually & in all ways, *a fortiori*[168] amuse & excite themselves in this. Beside they use the argument that they are but men & must waste money in some way as for

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[162] or "J."
[163] La Fayette, Gilbert du Motier de, Marquis de (French general and politician, 1757-1834), distinguished participant in the War of American Independence and the French Revolution. These news of his arrest in early 1830 may be mistaken, but months later he participated in the events of July, 1830, by which the conservative king, Charles X, was deposed and the duke of Orleans, supported by La Fayette, assumed the throne with the name of Louis-Philippe. Edward met La Fayette during the Harvard Commencement of 1824, and in 1826 spent three days at the general's country house in France.
[164] In 1831 the Polish Diet (Parliament) declared the independence of the country. Eventually the Russians defeated the Polish forces and the insurrection collapsed.
[165] According to advertisements in the government's *Gaceta* (for example 20 June: 584, 17 September: 892) the Company of Tight-rope Walking Artists (*Compañía de Artistas Funámbulos*) directed by Juana Ferioso (at times spelled Forioso), who had performed "in the presence of their majesties the kings and queens of Spain, Naples, Netherlands, Portugal, Saxony, and the emperor of all the Russias", entertained the public in San Juan at least from May to September, 1831. They first performed in the open, and later in a theater constructed expressly for the company. It was located next to the city gate that opened to the wharves (gate of San Justo), made of planks, palm leaf stalks, canes and rods (*al lado de la puerta de la marina, que consta de tablas, yaguas, cañas y varas*), and was offered up for sale in anticipation of the company's departure (*Gaceta* 11 July: 656).
[166] On the contrary, it was the feast of the king's patron saint (Saint Ferdinand) and it was celebrated in San Juan with a thanksgiving mass and a reception, according to Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 157, but also with a special drawing of the lottery (*Gaceta* 30 May 1831). Córdova does not mention the special lottery drawing until its second year (1832, *Memorias*, 6: 284-6).
[167] Spanish - It is the custom.
[168] Latin - with even more reason.

cigars or luxuries of this or that sort & 'tis surely more wise to put $4. of this waste fund into a chance for $6 000. &c. &c.

I take it the strong argument against a lottery is that the many subtract from their moderate or scanty incomes a little which they can ill spare, & the sum total of these items makes a fortune for one; exactly the inequality which men are always deploring so soon as it takes place, wherefore each adventurer robs himself of a necessary or a comfort, in the hope of getting by chance the heap of necessaries & comforts likewise robbed from others as indiscreet as he. – The means are bad & the end is bad in the abstract.

May 31. – Nothing special

June, 1831

June 1. Breakfast with Mr Gott & companions mem.
Dined with same at Mr Thomas Viner's. Mem.

2d June. *Corpus Christi*.[169] Mem the square[170] at 8 o'clock - *tuenos* (sic)[171] & tin tea case & rattles of 2 sorts & musketry & flags & licence & spectators. Lamb is the emblem of St Johns flag. Hence till 24th there is to be one continual gala though days will differ in magnitude & brilliancy of rejoicing &c. – Music here has a large signification.

Dined at John Mason's; went to the *plaza* to see the procession, consisting of bishop[172] &c. - troops clean & ladies fair in balconies scattering flowers spreading out crimson damask cloths. Bishop 81 yrs. old & has made tour of the island in 14 months past.

[169] Latin - body of Christ. The Catholic celebration of Christ's real presence in the sacrament of the eucharist.
[170] From the context, and in subsequent occasions, Edward seems to refer to the main square, "Plaza de Armas", when he says only "the square" or "the plaza".
[171] truenos? - Spanish for "thunder".
[172] Bishop Pedro Gutiérrez de Cos.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[173]

St Johns Po. Ri. 3d June 1831

Dear William

Not to let slip an opportunity I will write a line; & trusting to your compliance with my prudent wishes that the same may be forthwith destroyed (lest perchance it should come to the eyes of persons whom I respect too much to have them imagine that by a close parody I would mean to ridicule them). I will give you a specimen of a mercantile letter as follows.

Since I last had this pleasure on 8th ultimo[174] via St Thomas & 14 ultimo via Philadelphia (to care of S. Bradford) I have received none of your valued favors. Since then some things worthy of note have occurred here of which I may write more fully by next of op° (sic - opportunity?). American letters are very scarce here, also newspapers American. My wardrobe is likewise bare of sundry articles of importance, though it has received some necessary supplies from the merchandize of this island. I would mention particularly pillow cases as much wanted, say 2, & 2 towels, one large & one mid size. I am anxiously expecting the arrival of the articles before ordered, & will thank you to let these now requested follow as soon as possible. Please add a couple of your phosphorous match boxes, my common place book,[175] a volume or a set of *Don Quixote* if you can get hold of one second handed for a very low price (in Spanish) & if you have any thing like new orations or pamphlets of surpassing interest & to spare, put in one or two. The books you thought most likely to be untouched—say Condillac[176] & *Spanish Grammar & Exercises* have been well thumbed, especially the latter, while the Boston report remains a *legendum*.[177] If funds abound send me a manifold that shall cost as little as possible & at the same time if Melvin will make you out a little minute of his prices for the various sizes &c it is very possible that I may manage in the course of months to recommend them & so make a little adventure in the same to his & my advantage. I should be very glad to know

[173] MHi Ms N-251 (192).
[174] Latin - last [month]
[175] Common place book - a book in which one copies passages or matters to be remembered.
[176] Condillac, Étienne Bonnot de (French philosopher and psychologist, 1715-1780). His most important work was the *Treatise on sensations*, of 1754.
[177] Latin - An item still to be read.

if among the inexhaustible relics of our old fashioned furniture there survive a bureau which I could have sent out—*mais n'importe*.[178]

I have got out of my mercantile letter I find Minerva dull[179]—so I will not resume the style. I should be glad if I could get out of the asking style as easily, but I recollect that many things may be less costly in your region than in this & so prefer asking to have them sent in kind, than to have the money drained from your purses to pay the bills here.

The Capt. comes & I must finish unfinished.

Yrs. Edw. B. E.

4. June Nothing noticeable except an arrival from Boston. I see our old sexton is dead & James Lloyd of Philadelphia & Isa. Thomas, & that Horatio Greenough's "chanting cherubs"[180] are exhibited; & the Poles successful & well headed.

5 June– Rode horseback an hour AM, read &c walked PM

saw collection of negroes assembled on the ramparts for a dance, with the instruments of music peculiar to their nations – two large & long buoy-shaped drums of which the one end rests on the ground while the other is covered with parchment & is beaten with rapid strokes.[181] On the side I observed the word Congo painted;- & I hear that the Congos consider themselves as the most eminent here, & claim some little prerogatives on the day of St Michael. (inquire)[182] Others of the negroes had rattles made of calabash & called in English "shake shake" a name excellently descriptive of the music; there are two other instruments in use among the blacks & their dances. They separate themselves into the four or five nations to which they

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[178] French – But it doesn't matter.
[179] Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom, is dull (sluggish, tedious, without brightness); that is, he has no more inspiration to continue with his satire of a business letter.
[180] For illustration, see http://missingobjects.org/items/details0d7d.html?id=119
[181] The dances of African slaves were only allowed on feast days (5 June was a Sunday), on the ramparts or city walls, from 10 to noon and 3 until "retreat" was sounded, according to La Torre, "Bando de Policía y Buen Gobierno", article 6.
[182] On September 29, the feast of Saint Michael (*Día de San Miguel*) the African "nations" paraded through the city to the sound of drums and paid a visit the Captain General (who, in Emerson's time, was also celebrating his name day – Miguel de la Torre). The procession continued through the streets until it reached the *plazuela de Santiago* (today Plaza de Colón), where "the noisiest open-air dance in the Spanish dominions was celebrated"; see Daubón, *Cosas de Puerto Rico*, 1: 20-30.

pretend to belong. A boisterous singing & violent jumping joined to the clatter make out the merry ball, which must stop at 8 P.M after which I suppose they are permitted to dance within doors.

Mem conversation with John Mason this P.M about sugars which he says must bring 4¼¢ per pound additional to the invoice price when shipped hence, in order to make even a saving voyage:- Yet now they are quoted at 3½¢ to 6½ in U.S. – What loss must fall somewhere?

June 6. Saw more newspapers from U.S. up to May 7. - Alexander Everett is found speaking in favor of the Bible & the Society for Diffusion of Knowledge is offering prizes for Essays &c. all good.

June 7. - Rose in a hurry. Nothing remarkable – schooner *S. & P.* from Baltimore 23 days. Had a fine walk after dinner. Wrote Spanish exercises most of the forenoon, for lack of occupation in the way of business.

June 8 Much such a day as yesterday & the Spanish begins to look as if it were circumnavigable.

Walked with Mr Mason. Mem. his conversation about certain people, also of growth of Porto Rico. 10 years ago not 5 000 hogsheads sugar made here, last year 60 000. A few years (say 15) ago & the vale or plains of Ponce could be bought for 22 000 $ - now 7 or 8 000 hogsheads sugar made there in a year. In St Thomas, where he has lived 20 yrs, he says he knows not a native Dane who is a merchant. The German, Italian, English, French & Americans do all the business. The island has seen, he says a melancholy change in its condition.

Was introduced in evening to Winthrop Cunningham (a 2d or 3d cousin), brother to T.B. Cunningham, the Captain & to William Henry Cunningham.[183] He has come here to establish himself as commission merchant with O'Kelly & Sweeney.

[183] Winthrop Cunningham's appearance in this journal coincides with the date of the three-month passport issued by governor de La Torre to Guillermo W. Cunningham, native of Boston, who declares his intention of buying land in Loysa (Loíza) to engage in agriculture. His parents were Guillermo W. Cunningham and

8 (sic) June Nothing special

9 June Almost sick & quite disheartened, but towards evening better and slept soundly at night.

10 June. Busy day & P.M. took a lesson in a new exercise & amusement, that of billiards which pleased me much, after which walked.

11 June. Busy in calculations examining an account. Heavy showers. Mr Mason in country to look at sugars. Mr Morrison left us for St Thomas. Walked round the city P.M. - called on John Mason & Mr Cunningham.

12 June. Sunday.- Today an *aviso*[184] in rhyme was left at the house – notifying the "good neighbor" to put out a banner at 12 o'clock & reminding him of duty of contributing to the music (a tax of 1. to 2$ on the men of property) for the honor of the festival.[185]

At 8 o clock many rockets & cartridges were fired at the plaza, at the expense of an individual whose prerogative it is to confer the *capa*[186] on some other who will have the duty & pleasure of bearing the costs of a similar display on the succeeding day. - At 12 o clock– music began in our street & the band marched up & down twice playing as I thought quite well. I thought I distinguished something like our "O Ye tigers don't you know, Rob Roy McGregor - O."[187]

Basilia Blus, "Catholic christians." He showed no certificate of baptism, but brought three witnesses who stated they knew his parents: Jorge W. Sweeny, Louis Olmiere, David Storer. The certificate of domicile was granted on 10 June and he gave the required oath on the same day. See AGPR, FGE, serie Extranjeros, caja 94, legajo Guillermo W. Cunningham.

[184] Spanish – announcement, warning

[185] Eve of the feast of St. Anthony. Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 126 gives an example of such a notice, for the celebration on January 31, 1831 of the birth of the king's daughter (and heir).

[186] Spanish - cape.

[187] According to http://www.darachweb.net/SongLyrics/RobRoyMacGregorO.html, the lyrics to "Rob Roy McGregor O!" were written around 1818 by John Davy, as a finale to his opera "Rob Roy", to the old tune "Duncan Gray" (with lyrics by Robert Burns, it is performed in http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lQo1VUXEYL0 and other videos). "In 1822 the Boston Light Infantry, under Capt. Mackintosh and Lieut. Robert C Winthrop visited Salem and encamped in Washington Square,

The flags exhibited from every house & of various sizes & devices though chiefly the three colored Spanish flags yellow white & crimson, gave the street a gay appearance & the continual discharge of small muskets fired without rule by boys & men from house top & balcony while squibs[188] & rockets went up from the crowd who followed the band, made a very lively pastime from 12 to 1 o clock after which silence gradually came on.

Ve la[189] was the cry raised when a lady was unlucky or bold enough to pass the mob, but there was nought of malice or even insult in the tone.

Today came on shore Captain Drebert of the *C.* from St Thomas & Baltimore. St Thomas full of flour & Baltimore full of sugar & coffee. 22 vessels at St Thomas with flour. The *Rebecca H.* arrived also from Philadelphia after 5 weeks!

At John Mason's heard the papers of May 21 &c read. Mr Branch's letter. &c. Steamboat Washington's disaster; Mr Swan's death. Van Buren's appointment as minister to England.[190]

To day Don Antonio Comas went to examine sugars in the country, found proprietors determined to sell & sugars good but prices asked 3.75 &c., too much by 50 or 75, considering the low prices in U.S.

13th June – Walked early – had a busy day at compting room getting the invoices & letters &c for Harward which sailed P.M.- After dinner in which I exceeded moderation – walked with Mr Cunningham & called on Mr Viner.

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and during their stay a few of the members indulged in sports incidental to camp duty, when some visitor exclaimed to one who was a little rough, "Oh, you Tiger!" It became a catchword and as a term of playful reproach, "You're a Tiger," was adopted as one of the peculiar phrases of the corps. On the route to Boston some musical genius sang an impromptu line, "Oh, you Tigers don't you know," to the air of "Rob Roy McGregor oh!" … It is still a marked peculiarity of the corps, and where the true tone is heard, one may be sure that the Boston Light Infantry, Captain C.O. Rogers, is not more than a mile distant." See Evan Kirshenbaum, who quotes the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* of 28 November 1857 in http://www.learnglish.com/Uwe/Forum.aspx/english/15450/cheers-and-tigers

[188] Fireworks that produce a slight explosion after they burn.

[189] Spanish - *¡Vela!* (see her, or see it, but also "sail", as the announcement of arriving ships), traditional gibe or taunt (with the accompaniment of cowbells or other noisemakers) for passersby, especially inland visitors who came to the city for the feast of St. John the Baptist (see Tapia, *Mis memorias*, 47, 49; Asenjo, Federico (1831-1893). *Las fiestas de San Juan*, 26-27.

[190] John Branch, as Secretary of the Navy, and MartinVan Buren, as Secretary of State, were members of President Jackson's recently dissolved cabinet. Branch's letter of resignation (19 April 1831) provoked a short exchange of letters with Jackson, on the reasons for Branch's resignation. Branch later described the events to a friend in a long letter, which was published in newspapers; see Haywood, "John Branch," 22-31.

Antonio Comas tells me he has received perhaps a 100 cards to day – his 'Saint's day' or birth-day. Usually I believe the children receive the name of the saint on or near whose day they are born. Antonio's friends either call or send cards or some other token of regard. The knowledge of his Christian name is sufficient advertisement of the day when this duty recurs & it is a part of the order of things to felicitate on this day all the Don Antonios, as on the 24 instant all the Don Juans, & on some other the Josés. The last name is very common & so makes fatiguing the work of a punctilious visitor on the return of the day. Presents are also common on these birth days. A couple of dogs, a cake, a tray of dainties &c.[191]

14 June. Nothing especially interesting; one arrival from New York, 4 weeks' passage, - *Patriot* Capt. Freeman.

15 June. Examined accounts all day. Walked P.M. with G; A; K; B.
Flags still wave gaily in our street, & at 8 AM, is heard the firing of squibs &c. in the plaza.

16th June. Nothing remarkable - Took no walk – Examined accounts - P.M went on housetop of Café where the young T.[192] cultivates flowers; talked with Frenchman who under the form & dress of a butcher carried a stock of literary anecdote &c & pleased me more than many a petitmaitre.[193]

17 June. 2 vessels from U.S. 1 from Baltimore one from Boston 29 days. They are in quarantine 24 hours, an inconvenience which was not imposed until the 15th. current.[194]

A coming thunder shower prevented my walk P.M.; I played a while & now come to *Don Quijote* for a few pages.

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[191] 24 June – Feast of St. John the Baptist (also, patron saint of the city of San Juan and of Puerto Rico); 19 March – Feast of St. Joseph. George Flinter commented extensively on this custom, see *An Account of the Present State of the Island of Puerto Rico*, 82-86.
[192] Possibly Turull, as there was a well-known *Café de Turull* at the time.
[193] Petitmaitre - from the French; dandy, fop.
[194] Probably as a result of the cholera epidemic that threatened cross the Atlantic from Europe.

18 June.- Compting room – examined & copied. Mercantile Study requires equal attention, less effort than legal, & seems to me to have more variety.

And today a vessel from Canaries, the *Veloz* formerly Danish now a Spanish schooner. The Captain & a passenger dined with us. The latter[195] is a wealthy proprietor near Ponce on the South side of this island – has an estate of 740 acres, 140 of which are cultivated by about 140 negroes & he has had a crop of about 700 hogsheads sugar in a year. The average of his best land in cultivation gives 7 to 8 hogsheads per acre. He has some acres which will yield or have yielded 14 hogsheads! (as he says) He adds that he has had a cane which being permitted to grow freely attained the heighth of 16 *varas* & was sent as a curiosity to Baltimore. One third or half that length was quite commonly attained on the rich land when the cane was not cut. I understand the *vara* to be our yard, say an inch or so less or thereabouts.

P.M walked with Mr Cunningham Mem. notice of Dr Ripley in Boston paper quite pleasant.

19 June. Sunday. Walked, met & visited Colonel Flinter an Irish man of letters & arms who is in the Spanish service & devotes his leisure to the preparation of a work on the condition & history &c of Porto Rico, to appear in the course of a year.[196]

At breakfast Don Jose R. Fernandez came in, a man of pleasant manners.[197]

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[195] Perhaps Gregorio Medina, see below.

[196] Flinter, George (Jorge) Dawson, born in Ireland ca. 1790, served in the British army under Wellington in Spain, in the War of 1812 in the United States, and somehow in Curazao, 1813-1814. He married the daughter of a rich merchant in Caracas, Venezuela and in 1818 requested his army's permission to move to Cadiz, Spain. He traveled to London in an attempt to organize an Irish Legion to help the Spanish troops in America, but only returned to Venezuela as a private citizen to manage his estates. Threatened by the insurgents, he emigrated to Puerto Rico and served its government as a member of the Spanish army, from 1829 to 1832. He published two books after his brief local experience: *A View of the Present Condition of the Slave Population in the Island of Puerto Rico, under the Spanish Government* (Philadelphia: A. Waldie, 1832), in Spanish as *Examen del estado actual de los esclavos de la isla de Puerto Rico* (New York: Imp. española del Redactor, 1832; facsimilar edition, San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1976), and *An Account* (noted above). In both texts Flinter seeks to present a prosperous colony, faithful and grateful to a fair and efficacious monarchy. He even states that not a single governor, since the conquest, had abused his position (*An account*, 92). In 1832, Flinter returned to Spain (after a visit to the United States). He continued his service to the Crown during the Carlist war, but committed suicide in September, 1838; see his biography by Luis E. González Vales in *An Account*, 2002: iii-lii.

[197] Fernández, José Ramón (San Juan, 1804 – San Juan, 1883), later Marqués de la Esperanza (1869) and chief of the conservative "unconditional" forces on the Island. The son of Spanish parents, as a young man he

P.M. walked with Mr Sidney Mason & Don Gregorio Medina[198] of Ponce who talked of Cadiz & the Canaries. But very few slaves in the latter. (90,000 inhabitants in Cadiz.) Palma is the only one of the Canaries where sugar is cultivated. The name of that isle from its palm trees which are of the date-bearing & cacera-bearing species, not the cocoa.- The cacera (sic) is the kind which has its bark thorny.

Mr Mason told us of the former governor's intention of constructing an *alemeda* or promenade outside of the *puerta tierra*,[199] a project abandoned by his successor who preferred a *Coliseo* or theatre within the walls.

20th June. Compting room as usual- After dinner walked alone.

21 June. Compting room. Studied irregular verbs in Spanish grammar &c. The language seems to me much less irregular than our own, but it may be because of my want of philological acuteness.

The showers were heavy in the day – but after dinner, I took a very pleasant walk out of the city & upon the grassy fortifications, or banks without being troubled with dampness either of atmosphere or soil; such is the thirst of the latter & the freedom with which the air circulates & the vapours disperse themselves. I even fancied I could perceive somewhat of the aroma in the breeze which is ascribed to the sunny climes of the East & not denied to the West Indian isles, by their first visitors.

By the way St. Cristobal (fort) is so named in honor of our Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of Porto Rico.

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was sent to Spain, London and New York for his education. He returned to Puerto Rico in 1826 and administered his father's business and later his own commercial and agricultural establishments. He married Clemencia Dorado y Serrano, daughter of José Dorado and Catalina Serrano. Therefore, he was Sidney Mason's brother-in-law. See Pérez Torres, *Marqués*; Pujol, *HLE: Cronología Reserva Natural Hacienda La Esperanza*; Infiesta, *marqués de la Esperanza*, and additional information in http://www.manati.info/biografias/marqu/marques_esperanza.htm, 20 February 2011.

[198] Medina, Gregorio, born in the Canary Islands ca. 1757, came from Venezuela to Puerto Rico with his family in 1811. Through sales, agriculture (major slave owner and land owner), and import-export transactions with St. Thomas and the United States, he became the wealthiest man in Ponce in his time. After the Ponce fire of 1820, he bought Hacienda Vayas from Esteban Domenech, and in 1826 sold half of the much enlarged and improved estate to his son-in-law, U.S.-born Arthur B. Rogers. (Edward - see Appendix 3 - included an "AB Rogers" as consular agent in Ponce.) Medina's generosity is attested in documents, and he served as constitutional mayor of Ponce in 1823. See information in Pérez Vega, *El cielo y la tierra en sus manos*, 73-83; Picó, *Ponce*, 97-98.

[199] Correctly, *alameda* and *Puerta de Tierra*.

To night some dancers (*maromeros*)[200] exhibit their feats (& feet) to the gapers & the curious in St Johns. A temporary building is erected at the gate for the purposes.

22 June- Compting room– without novelty – Evening walked alone; the *maromeras* repeat their exhibition to some 200 (as I hear) of our people. There is usually a serenade (called *alborada*, the word for twilight) at about 8 o'clock on the evening but one before St Johns; this evening it is deferred till the hour of X½ & XI on account of the *maroma*; so I give it up.

23[d] June. The noise of the negroes with their jingling instruments & songs & laughter aroused me very early long before light this morning. They contrived to make pretty good music also by merely clapping the hand in accordance with the drum or congo.

At about 5 AM. many of the boys & rabble & went out at the gate of the city conforming to a custom (*sacar la leche)*[201] which when I understand better I will note. It seems to consist (in its corrupted present practice) in annoying the country men or *iberos* who come to town with milk &c.- Some few of the *gente decente*[202] went forth to see the amusement, but as the showery morning damped the spirit of the sport in the very expectation, so it probably prevented any great concourse as it did me from the sight of what little might have been.

At about noon a gun fired signal for the removal of the banners which have been floating for some ten days over our streets, & which are now folded away for future use.-

After dinner say about 6 o'clock the peculiar amusement of riding at full speed was the object of general interest, & though I was told that what I saw was tame & dull compared with former years, yet I was pleased with the show & the nature of the diversion. A number of the best riders mounted on the best horses, or such as were so considered by their owners, passed rapidly to & fro in the 2 streets on either side of

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[200] *Maroma*, *maromeros*, *maromeras* - Spanish - tight-rope, male and female tight-rope walkers.
[201] Spanish - bring out the milk. Asenjo, *Fiestas de San Juan*, 20-21, confirms Edward's description.
[202] Spanish – literally, decent folk; in practice, the middle and upper class whites.

the square, usually remaining a few minutes at each end for the sake of resting man & beast.

There might be about 24 to 30 gentlemen & there were 3 females, I believe who rode in this way. The smallness of the number was the chief defect as I thought, since the spectators, who lined the streets were often for some minutes without that excitement which should be kept alive continually in order to the full enjoyment of such a scene.

The running of the horses in these *carreras*[203] was not at a gallop but a swift pace or rack; though now & then broken through mismanagement or fatigue. The ground was very ill adapted for the exhibition, since both the streets are paved, & narrow with a strip of brick laid work somewhat smoother & lower than the rest in the middle serving as a channel for the water in a shower & easier footing for the mules of burthen. Besides this, both streets are considerably sloping, & the descent of course unfavorable to safe racing.

In spite of all these difficulties, "they rode & they ran"[204] & the ladies looked from the balconies & the soldiers & the shopkeepers & the rest of us *sine nomine*[205] occupied the corners or stood along the scanty sidewalks more or less closely nailed by our caution to the walls of the houses. The riders were generally appropriately dressed & some gaily, with short round-jackets & caps; & the saddle cloths of a few were gilt or fancifully adorned.

Between 7 & 8 they gradually retired & the streets were pretty quiet until about 9. In the interval however, there was a continual accession of strength for the renewal of the exercise, in a somewhat coarser style.

The country people came into the city or sent their servants with horses of every shape & color, furnished with the (*canasteras* or *rodillas*)[206] baskets commonly used here instead of saddles & stirrups & which give the rider the appearance of a pedlar or pilgrim. These horses when not mounted by those who intended to join in the sport were mostly brought to the end of the square & then stood till hired for the

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[203] Spanish - races. See also Alonso, *El gíbaro*, 145-152, 423-425.
[204] Quotation from the poem *Lochinvar*, by Sir Walter Scott.
[205] Latin - nameless, that is the general public.
[206] Correctly, *canastas* or *rodilleras*, Spanish - baskets, knee-protectors.

hour, or the evening some for many dollars, some for as many bits or reals, according to quality &c., 1/2 a doubloon being sometimes demanded for the use till midnight of a fine animal.

Meanwhile fires too were kindled in the square & in the middle of the streets at the intersections, and kept up by supplies, of old boxes & barrels & hogsheads. By the light of these bonfires, for we forgot the moon in their glare, the *carreras* or coursing began again; but with much more 'abandon' & perhaps twenty fold more riders than in the afternoon. Those who now appeared in the streets seemed intent chiefly on the enjoyment of an old amusement or of the agitation of a violent ride through the lighted streets; & there was no longer that formal attention to the dress & the pace which appeared in most of the riders by day light.

Those had been chiefly of the higher classes, & such as perhaps valued themselves or their horses for ability & expertness. But now the runners as well as animals were of all sorts & the apparel & the pace according to the inclination of each. Some were dressed as usual & some had one or other oddity in cap or hat – a handkerchief perhaps flying from beneath it, or the ends pointed, &c. Some had a female or a boy riding behind or before them on the same horse.

Each as he passed the part of the street where the spectators were thickest usually rode with his best speed & was greeted with hue & cry according to his appearance, especially such as were accompanied by females. - I understand that many of the expressions in these cases are abominably abusive & indecent. Not understanding the language sufficiently I only recognized in such phrases as reached my ears a coarse raillery, generally referring either to the fatness or the leanness or other personal appearance of the riders; or directions to hold fast – or to drive furiously, or towards the bonfire &c &c.

As to the others, they may be as represented, & if so are shameful abuses – infecting what I cannot but regard a very jovial & not very irrational exercise. - So too I hear that death & broken bones have often occurred on these occasions – Another abuse from excess & carelessness. But last night though the sport was continued after I left looking, until midnight, the most serious accidents were some falls & one injury such as to cause the dangerous wounding of a horse & the rider's removal to the

hospital where he is considered as quite curable. It was said some 400 rode in the evening.

The *retreta*[207] usually beaten at 9 was deferred till 12 when the music of the troops passed from the square to the fort, & the vespers of St Juan ended.

24 June. - At about 8½ this morning the curious collected in the square to see the form of (*sacar el pendon)* taking the banner from the *cabildo* or city-hall, a ceremony which is honored by the presence of the Governor & his staff.[208] These last came elegantly arrayed & mounted at the head of the corps of cavalry belonging to Arecibo[209] & stopped in front of the *Cabildo* out of a window of which the crimson flag was displayed, with the emblematical lamb of St John for its device. This was brought down & presented to the standard bearer & the cavalcade immediately left the square & ascended the hill towards the northeast, towards a street where it was expected that according to custom, there would be a sort of *carreras* or running of the troop two by two, as an exhibition of their horsemanship &c. This was prevented by the showers which drove us to breakfast while the cavalry proceeded to the church.

I must mention that 2 *ministros* or officials representing the clerical department[210] preceded the escort of the governor, dressed in rich scarlet & carrying in their hands silver instruments or vessels of whose name & use I know nothing.

From breakfast time till 5 the city was quietly enjoying its release from ordinary labors without particular parade. At dinner time we had for sweet meats a species of *blanc mange* peculiar to the feast of St Juan composed of rice, milk, egg &c flavored with orange water & called *maja blanca*.[211] After dinner there were a few riders in the same streets as before, but the prospect of showers, probably rendered the number still less than that of yesterday & much less than had been expected.

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[207] Spanish - now considered an evening concert by a band, originally referred to the curfew call for soldiers, their "retreat" to quarters. Emerson uses the verb "beat" for the "retreta", rather than "played" (for music), in the etymologically correct military usage of "beating a retreat".
[208] The *pendón*, a pennant or banner, represented the King of Spain; see Asenjo, *Fiestas de San Juan*, 19-20.
[209] Town on the north coast of Puerto Rico, approximately 50 miles west of San Juan.
[210] He is probably referring to the cathedral chapter, the highest ecclesiastical authorities on the Island.
[211] Correctly, *manjar blanco* (white delicacy); the recipe also includes sugar. Asenjo, *Fiestas de San Juan*, 20, confirms the dish was traditional for that day.

I walked away & returned about half after 6 in time to view the interest excited by a sad accident that of an encounter of 2 horses, one driven by a negro crossing the street in which the other was running at speed, so that the shock occasioned the death of both animals, & the stunning of both riders. The last have been bled[212] & are supposed not in danger; but the incident must be set down as a debit item in the account of the amusement, which ought to be better regulated.

Mem a gentleman said to night that Spain had been supposed by an author (De Campos or the like) to lose annually 7 million £ sterling by her holidays &c. &c.

After the accident which has been mentioned, there was scarcely any more riding. A heavy shower cooled the remaining ardor & I was not even tempted out of my room to see what might occur after 8 o clock. Occasionally the clattering of hoofs reached my ears, but it was evident that nothing equal to the preceding evening's frolic would take place. So ended St Johns day.

The *S. & P.* left & the Spanish *Correo*[213] arrived.

Read *Don Quijote* & called at Don José Dorado's.[214]

25th June. I heard this morning that the negro was dead who met with the accident yesterday. & I learn this evening that notwithstanding the wet weather, there were some hundreds riding in the upper part of the city until late last night. I remember that just before 4 o'clock when I rose there was still to be heard the singing & music of stragglers who had not thoroughly satiated themselves with the nocturnal amusement, & some horses passed my door.

To day the people resumed their customary labors, but the spirit of diversion does not seem to have left them for while I write I hear the violin somewhere in the neighborhood & the folk seem on tiptoe for St Peter's approaching holiday[215], when masks are to be worn, as a new variety of sport.

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[212] Bleeding, a common medical procedure at the time.
[213] Spanish – ship that carries the mail (but not the name of the ship)
[214] Dorado lived on Fortaleza street (*Gaceta* 22 September 1831: 908).
[215] 29 June – feast of St. Peter and St. Paul

Walked out to night with Mr Cunningham. Observe a Mr Woodside pretends to have solved the problem of measuring the circle &c. [216]

26 June Sunday comes a day of rest & shines even here with a somewhat (a shadow at least) more of sobriety than other holidays, or else the fancy of one severely educated imparts a color. I see the billiard table & the cards &c frequented as usual, but it seems as if there was more quiet & cleanly & orderly demeanor &c than at other vacations from labor. Be that as it may, & be it an error & a lapse or a rational change of sentiment in me, I must confess that the mode of passing the Sabbath in the West Indies no longer seems to me so totally wrong as it might once have appeared.

It is very possible that much more intellectual & moral entertainment might be furnished to the thousands of ignorant people to be found here, in both upper & lower classes of society; & some attention to this subject is extremely desirable. It is a pity that no other amusements, than games of hazard or even of skill & bodily dexterity & no other comforts than those of repose & common conversation should be offered to thinking men. No lectures, no sermons (at this season), no reading rooms, no public libraries, even the theatre not yet completed, nor when completed likely to be well supplied with entertainment, this is an excess of apathy or ignorance, as to the value of the intellectual faculties & the need of cultivation, & I am willing to see it remedied sooner the better.

Still on the other hand, when I feel the freedom that comes to me here on each returning Sabbath, when (as there is no Protestant church & I rarely enter the Catholic) I am left to myself, without a form required, or an eye open (among men) to scrutinize or a more or less old fashioned thinker than myself to pass judgment & pronounce me either hypocrite or freethinker according as I quadrate with his scale – when I feel that if I pray, it is I & not my minister; & if I am not outside of the circle which my own conscience prescribes I am not in danger of wounding or interfering

[216] Woodside, James D., "Cuadratura del círculo", *Gaceta* 25 Jun 1831: 601-602. Woodside only stated he had discovered how to measure exactly the surface of a circle, and had shared his secret with a few friends and experts; he did not divulge the method. The article indicates that Woodside's communication, dated 7 April 1831, in Washington, appeared in the Washington papers, and the *Gaceta* took it from a New York publication presented as *El Redactor* (in Spanish, "The Editor").

with that of any of my neighbors by any indulgencies or pursuits which I chose to follow– reading the book and taking the path that I like the best, I feel as if an independence were here granted me which is itself a precious boon & calls for gratitude if that sentiment be ever due for anything.

Now it is perhaps true that it is one's own fault not to act freely in every country & go by his own compass in New England as well as in Porto Rico & very like I was too fearful & conforming in the land of "steady habits" & others may be happier there because wiser & more lax, or because from habit preferring a very 'narrow' way & a very 'strait' gate; but it still seems to me a general truth that we are too rigid in our religious habits, that we do make to ourselves a law which has not been revealed & take up a yoke not meant for Christian men.

I am quite sure that the churchgoing people often wear a grave face which is as foreign to their inclination as a mask would be to their natural features, & that where one word is said & one page read on a Sunday & with good will, from the inmost heart, there are with many, at least two from a regard to example, & as it were by compulsion. This I should likely to see remedied. I don't want to see the Sabbath given up to frivolity, nor do I want to see it filled up with reluctant observances, forced silence on pleasant topics, forced absence from pleasant company & denial of innocent amusements literary or philosophical or social.

Walked tonight, saw a band of negroes dancing to drum & shake shake & congo upon the ramparts, singing a simple tune with I should think not more than three different notes, & perhaps no meaning - & moving backwards & forwards from within a circle with a step about as uniform as the song, & such as it needs no *Monsieur*[217] to teach; I noticed three or four houses also on the way where similar music & jumping was going on within doors.- Labouring as they do perforce they seem indefatigable in their diversions.

27 June. Did little at the compting but study Spanish. After dinner prospect of showers kept me about house.

[217] French; referring to a French dancing teacher.

Got a page or two out of *Don Quijote*, in a part which reminds me of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*[218] – I mean the arrival of the boy that brings the news of the shepherd scholar's death for love. It is very pretty - *muy graciosa* - it is the author exposing to us another trait in his own character a love of simplicity & that sensibility which is the source of pathos & we relish this after so much of the burlesque & the satire as we meet in *Don Quijote*.

28 June. Compting room - But little business after breakfast, as the city is already up to the neck in the feast of St Peter's. The appropriate day is the 29th. but so much more ready are men to greet a holiday than a fast, that the celebration of the vespers began soon after 9 A.M. & some half dozen maskers came out of the house opposite us on horseback while a negro walked by their side beating a drum with the object, I was told of raising recruits to join the party which when large would proceed to the Governor's house with music & mummery. About 10 we heard that a mulatto woman had been killed by some accident connected with this frolic – being the 2^{d} death within a week from these sports.

After dinner the *carreras* were renewed as on St Johns day, but when I passed through the streets there were but few riders & far between & little animation. I went elsewhere for a walk, & now to bed.

29 June. Visited *Halcyon* Captain Stansbury. Mem. his vessel new & why to be altered. A German brig arrived yesterday the *Henrietta* – bringing say 60 000$ in dry goods – probably will take tobacco in return. Has been so trading for 2 or 3 years. She is from Bremen & her flag is like the American excepting in having no stars - red stripes on white ground.

Night before last I am told 70 or 80 negroes were landed here from a Guinea man; the illicit trade being still connived at.

Today is St Peter's & masking goes on though with but little good taste, as it seems to me - I have seen a few whites who have masked as negroes, two others who

[218] Sidney, Sir Philip (1554-1586). *The countess of Pembroke's Arcadia.* (1590), long pastoral romance.

have represented angels as coarsely as might be, with nothing beside the wings to tell the world of their seraphic characters & accompanied by an attendant carrying a waiter[219] & shaking a bell, in imitation of the practice of the friars when they carry the images of saints and beg alms. One or two others were gaudily dressed & had disgusting masks, not ludicrous enough to please nor indicative of any trait to excite interest.

The riding was renewed this afternoon, with more prudence than heretofore, & on more inspection the street in which it chiefly occurs seems better adapted than I before thought, provided one ride at a time or at least never more than two abreast.

I read in *Don Quijote* the burial & love songs of Crisostomo &c. with considerable pleasure, called on McCormick's & thus ended my day.

30 June The noise of last evening in our neighborhood was rather amazing than amusing. Such clamorous scurrility I suppose is rarely equalled or approached as that which was directed to the riders who passed by the street. - Yet by turning & tossing I got to sleep in the midst & only heard this morning that the racing was kept up till after midnight.

To day came a vessel from Boston via St Thomas with 44 days from Boston to St. Thomas & another from Salem over 30 days.

July 1831

July 1. Compting room; busy making out Consul's accounts against government U.S. for disbursements in cases of sick seamen. The law is liberal, for the law loves mercy & sailors like women are favored beings. The bills of physicians & nurses &c are sent as vouchers of charges & government pays the cost.

English Brig arrived to day from London 43 days.

[219] small tray.

July 2. Busy to day, much in the same way as yesterday from 6 till near 5 P.M After dinner chatted & lounged near 8.

The *maroma* rope dancing diverts the people tonight who can afford & enjoy it.

They tell me pineapples cost 1/2 dollar a dozen & less when many dozen are bought. I should like to send some home, but keep my intention quiet for a moment.

July 3. Sunday.- Walked – reposed – read – bathed – talked dined with John Mason, met there Captain Wilcox from Philadelphia. Mem. what he said about business there & the pleasure of sailing from Philadelphia & the crews to be shipped there &c. 13 new steamboats building at New York small & great.

After dinner saw several masks, some tolerably ludicrous. Home at ½ past 7.

Men do not strive here as in New England after the perfect man. It is present pastime or gainful industry or chance which they follow as their stars.

July 4. To day the only celebration of our glorious anniversary has been the display of the national flag at the masthead of the American vessels in port. Heavy showers & one attended with wind enough to cause several vessels to drag their anchors a little way, have made a rainy day of it. This evening I lost all chance for a walk except to the Café.

Flour is plenty in Porto Rico where none is raised & coffee which is the produce of its soil is so scarce that hardly any can be bought for the private stores of the captains.[220]

Heard to day of the failure of W & R, a commercial house in New York.

The gamblers were intent on their gain & loss & a ring of no less attentive spectators surrounded the table at the Café.

On commence en etre dupe, said Madame Desouillens, *et on acheve en être fripon*,[221] as quoted by my French acquaintance in application to those who follow the goddess Fortune.

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[220] The situation may reflect a combination of the seasonal nature of harvests (the coffee harvest typically is finished by January), the limited quantities produced (by July, the coffee is all sold), and the difficulties in Puerto Rico of transporting and storing agricultural products for export.

5 July. A showery day & lack of letters &c to copy gave me time to study Spanish at the compting room & I am beginning my old gymnastics in my little cell at home, for want of exercise abroad.

6 July. Letter copying before breakfast, study of Spanish afterward, occupied me till dinner, at which we spoke of the marvellous dramatic performance which is exhibited in Paris, where lions, tigers, boas constrictors, bisons &c are brought upon the stage & play their parts with perfect harmlessness, permitting themselves to be vanquished & relinquishing the prey which they have seized – according to the intention of the story to be represented, which is of course such as to display the docility of these formidable beasts at the same time with their naturally savage character & conduct.

At dinner too was mentioned the industry of a colored woman who had raised & paid 350 dollars to buy the freedom of her son; whose owner haggled for the 2$ which are paid usually by the purchaser for the price of the bill of sale. The son I am sorry to hear is unworthy of the affection which his mother exhibits. Still what an evidence of the strength of a mother's love.

Rainy weather again to day & gymnastics instead of walks.

July 7. Compting-room as usual. Rainy as usual of late, but rather more *a la mode*[222] of New England – i.e. more steady. About dinner time it was cool & the showers held up for a while.

At dinner, I was told that there were about 10 physicians & about 14 regular lawyers & 75 ecclesiastics in this population of 14 000. The 75 clergy, thus counted, include the youth, say 20, that are preparing for holy orders & the friars of St Francisco & St Domingo; say 30; leaving only about 25 in which are comprehended sundry official personages, such as secretaries &c besides the regular priests. In the whole island there may be 300 ecclesiastics. Many villages have but one; though

[221] Deshoulières, Antoinette Du Ligier de la Garde (1638-1694), French poet: One starts as a fool and ends up a rascal.
[222] French - in the fashion.

properly said my informant (Antonio Comas) there should be 3, a curate, a *teniente* or vice-curate & a sacristan.

I see that the boys are beginning to raise their kites; to my surprise, I learn that kites in St Johns are not left to boys. The season is now approaching & if a year has not changed the taste of society, men grown will be found on the house tops flying kites. One of the most prominent in the sport a year ago is now suffering from an accident in the rides of St John & that may have an effect to lessen the spirit.

The amusement here is entirely different from our own. The kites are of 2 sorts - one called merchant men simply because raised only to take the chance of wind & the perils of the adventure. The other privateers, because near the kite is attached a knife blade for the purpose of attacking all its neighbors and if possible cutting their strings & setting them adrift.

A company was last year formed for the purpose of entering more sociably & powerfully into the diversion. They had several dozen kites and employed a band of music to play while they carried on war in the air, & to celebrate the success of their enterprizes. One lawyer, a married man too, was quite an amateur in this diversion. He had a machine for drawing in his kite string by means of a wheel & crank which he kept with him on the roof of the house.

The merchantmen take the precaution to place wooden strips upon their string near the kite, where the knife of the privateer usually strikes, & these preventing the blade from cutting the string there is often a contest of strength on the part of the kite players who pull respectively in hopes to break the cord of their antagonist.

The kites are generally painted & made for the purpose of pitching & wheeling about & not as with us for the purpose of being raised to the greatest height & with the most perfect steadiness.

July 8. Nothing noticeable to day. Rain in showers & a mild cloudy evening.

July 9. At the compting-room copied letters & ruled some sheets for my own account books, that I may get my hand into leger[223] keeping.

To day arose *la dificuldad entre Sidney Mason y el Capitan Fish sobre el asunto de los cueros que este debía tomar segun creya Sidney Mason, y conforme á esta opinion ha porfiado que el capitan los recibiera o si no el consul no le diera su registro; diciendo el que segun lo que el capitan había dicho, este quedaba obligado, y puesto que los intereses de otros, (es á decir de los comerciantes del Norte á quienes habia ya escrito por el seguro &c eran comprometidos, (envueltos), el consul se consideró justificado en detener el registro del navio hasta que el capitan consentiera recibir los cueros.*[224]

No reading to day.

July 10.- Sunday. Mr Mason sick. Arrived a vessel from Newburyport, *Otter* – Captain Stone. The rain is over & gone, & the air delightful.

From some cause or other there is a great deal of temporary sickness experienced here. One or another is ailing, with bile or fever, almost continually, & much medicine seems to be taken. *Swaims Panacea*[225] is enjoying a little celebrity among those who blame their livers, perhaps because they don't well regulate their lives, though I have no business to suspect them.

I read to day (in a comment on the *Balanza Mercantil con Noticia Estadística de Puerto Rico*) that in 1830, there were several thousand people between age of 60 & 90, several hundred between 90 & 100, & 61 between 100 & 110 years in Porto Rico.

As to life & death I read an elegant extract from Addison to day. Among other things he speaks of 'that great day when we shall all be contemporaries.'[226]

After dinner walked. & saw negroes dancing & whites masked with something more of the ridiculous in their visages & conduct than heretofore. A little company of

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[223] Ledger.

[224] … the difficulty between Sidney Mason and Capt. Fish on the matter of the hides that the latter should take, as thought S. M. and in accordance with this opinion has argued that the captain receive [had received?] them, otherwise the consul [S. M.] would not have provided his permit; saying that according to what the captain had said, he was bound, and given that the interests of others (that is to say, of the businessmen of the North to whom he had already written regarding the insurance, etc.) were engaged (involved), the consul considered himself justified in stopping the ship's permit until the captain agreed to receive the hides.

[225] A common patent medicine of the time.

[226] Addison, Joseph (1672-1719, English essayist, poet and statesman). *The Spectator*, no. 26, 30 March 1711, available online at http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnLine/40497/

about a dozen with long staffs & a fiddle met & danced in the square surrounded by a ring of boys & men two or three deep. When a number associate for this kind of sport & act in concert they make what is termed a *compársa*[227] (literally a retinue of great personages represented on the stage) & go about visiting at different houses &c. One figure in this *compársa* if such it was, was habited in a white sheet & considered as representing Death, whence the dance is called the Dance of Death.[228]

July 11. To day came to compting room a Mr Hamilton son (natural) of General Wade Hamilton of U.S. His father gave him I believe his education &c & $20,000 with which he came hither in quest of fortune or estates.

Captain Fish sailed for Boston. The two vessels which were aground yesterday one from Bremen, & one from Spain, entered the port; & a vessel from Newburyport which entered yesterday comes out of quarantine to day. I translated a page of *Codigo de Comercio* into English, copied letters, studied Spanish, walked & now take *don Quixote*, for a few minutes.

July 12 No vessels from Boston, no news from home, not even an arrival from St. Thomas to fan the expectation. But the seed sown will grow & the vessel will come - & the letter &c.

Translated – studied - & spoiled in some measure the enjoyment of a beautiful afternoon by –- stop there little pen & tell no tales of thy master, now that he remembers & may in future avoid the folly.

Walked with Mr Cunningham who said he had often protected poor Bulkely[229] in his terrors & schoolboy perils. We saw a brilliant star close to the moon; both of us too ignorant to say what was the name of the beautiful orb which seemed a planet, &

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[227] Without accent in Spanish.

[228] The spectacle was perhaps motivated by the beginning of the week in which the feast day of Our Lady of Mount Carmel ("Virgen del Carmen", 16 July) was celebrated. There was great devotion to this advocation of the Virgin as intercessor to obtain the release of souls from Purgatory. The "comparsa" may have been formed by members of a "cofradía" (sodality or religious fellowship) to ask for monetary contributions for the liturgical celebrations.

[229] Edward's brother.

perhaps an occultation may have occurred but clouds have come over both moon & star now.

13th July To day came W.E's letter enclosing an eloquent fervent page from M.M.E. & how did these letters gladden my strained eyes. I had looked from the hill top & counted 5 sail in sight, but hardly expected with confidence to hear to day.- I shall read over Aunt M's letter & think upon it. W.E. is still the brother, & the man. Speaks & acts to the point.

Discussed today at the compting room the question[230] of A's acceding to a proposal of B. that A. should accept a bill drawn by B. on C. and should remit the said bill to C. as payment of the balance which A. owed C., thus rendering B secure from any accidental insolvency of C's house, that might occur before the latter should receive a shipment consigned to them by B & remit its proceeds.

In the case in hand A had so consented. B made the consignment. A took the bill, but instead of remitting it, receiving letters from C directing a certain appropriation of the balance which he owed, sold the bill (forgetful or doubtful of propriety of his agreement with A) of A. & obeyed C's instructions, thus leaving A unsecured & in the event C. failing, A lost his shipment.

A says that B should have answered C's instructions by saying I have accepted A's bill on you & remitted the same, & so have ceased to owe you; & thus the loss would have fallen on C., where it should. How is this? It looks as A says.

Called this evening at John Mason's; found the ladies on the house top, whence I counted 8 kites raised from neighboring houses. Walked with Mr Cunningham &c.

14 July. Compting room- translated, talked. Received 3 letters, from the Boston mint, 'golden apples in silver pictures'.[231] They came just after I had read in a Spanish

[230] What follows is a discussion of the intricacies of the legal and practical considerations regarding bills of exchange, also called drafts, the principal instruments of the time for long-distance credit. In its simplest use, a person or business directed the recipient to pay a fixed sum of money to a third party at a stated, or negotiable, date. The bill could pass from one person to another (as a present-day endorsed check).

[231] Book of Proverbs, 25: 11: A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver.

version those lines of Pope's *Abelard & Eloisa*[232] which describe writing as the 'gift of heaven' & the 'invention of lovers' & it occurred to me the while that I could assent to the proposition emended by putting 'brothers' for 'lovers'.

Mother Waldo & Charles all live & speak to me in these fresh letters, which as it were animate & re-color their images in my memory. In what relief do such characters stand forth amid the groups of figures that occupy the eye & mind of the stranger from New-England in his ordinary intercourse as he moves about in the streets of St. Croix or St. Johns. Oh that I may be worthy of the consanguinity in which I now rejoice. When these are taken & chosen, Heaven grant that I be not left & cast away.

Wrote to W.E a letter for S.N. Gott, introductory, &c.

After dinner walked called on Mr Hamilton, who says he was about furnishing himself with stores for passage in December last in Calais–packet from New York when learning from Captain that a sick man was going, who might not live through the voyage, he disengaged himself & went in *Rebecca Groves*.- Curious that we should meet now & here.[233]

15 July Compting Room – To day arrived *Young James* schooner from St Thomas & New York with box of clothing &c. sent by W.E. Went aboard P.M.
Walked with Mr Cunningham. Finished *Grammar & Exercises*, translated a page of Spanish law, & the day is done – gone.

16 July. Morning. Mr Mason entertained me with account of his first coming here Jan. 20 - 1821. March same year left for Boston; was urged to come again by his employers Wheeler & Gay; took half interest in the vessel & came in June or July 1821.[234] Settled here & has only returned to U.S. on visits since. He acquired his fine bold handwriting, by taking morning lessons from Mr Cobb, before which he wrote wretchedly. Being then a clerk & soon after by reason of the head clerk's sickness &c. succeeding to the care of the books, he kept these with great attention, often rising at 3-4 in the morning

[232] Pope, Alexander. *Abelard to Eloisa* (1717) is a poem inspired by the 12th century tragic love story of Heloise and Pierre Abelard. Spanish edition not identified.
[233] In other words, the sick man in the Calais–packet from New York was Edward Emerson.
[234] Manuscript says 1831, clearly a mistake.

& working by candlelight for the purpose of bringing up everything in its time &c. He thus acquired such esteem &c on part of his employers that his salary from 250$ went on to 1000 per annum.

When he first visited Porto-Rico the business of the place was transacted in much more loose way than now. No stores were then outside of the walls or but one. Books & memorandums & orders &c were either not kept or very irregularly. I imagine that Mr Mason's own mode of doing business has had great influence in producing the change so far as now to be seen.

Translated 4 pages Spanish; received & unpacked my little invoice of clothing &c from New York. After dinner walked with Mr Cunningham – & am glad that it is Saturday night.

17th July. Sunday - Rested – walked – wrote letter to W.E. Was confined nearly all day to the room by heavy rains – in the afternoon accompanied by heavy thunder. Two American vessels arrived.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[235]

Porto Rico, Saint Johns 17 July 1831

Dear William—

The very day after the darkest of my expectations, to wit, that of my note dated 11th current, I received your letters of April 10 & June 1 & 5 & the next day the line of 8th ultimo, with Bill of Lading sent by *Young James* & forwarded hence: since which the Schooner has arrived here & delivered the Box with its contents. These last agree exactly with your Invoice annexed to your letter, & appear in good condition, saving the salt water that got to some of them (perhaps in the boat) & which the washerwoman will soon remove.

Your satisfaction with my present plans affords me no little pleasure, since I had been some what anxious on that score, after noticing the drift of former letters advising a return for the Summer to the North. What I have seen of the climate up to this date, in Porto Rico has in my own state of body & according to my own taste—if that faculty have

[235] MHi Ms N-251 (199).

any thing to do with judgments on weather—nearly as much advantage over yours at this season as it has in winter; & that owing to the refreshing breezes which daily & almost certainly are blowing. They threatened me with coming deluges of rain & the rain has come & counting all the showers for a month back, up to that which is now washing the streets, we have had a great deal of water; but "this & much more, yea more than twice all this" as old Will hath it,[236] can be borne with great equanimity & cheerfulness of mind, so kindly does it come & the so does the sun seem ruler of the stormiest sky; now & then he just peers from behind a cloud while the rain drops on; & presumably he 'flatters the mountain top' & the whole wide landscape too 'with sovereign eye' & every body is abroad & no more thought of the rain except in the observation of its effect in deepening the verdure of the surrounding country. Sometimes I am awaked in the night by these heavy & passing showers, & in the morning rise with as fair a day-break as usual.

During one week it is true that the showers fell so frequently, that the tone in which people said *muchísima agua*,[237] began to sound like a murmur, especially as it is one consequence of rainy weather, that the loading of vessels & much of the labor of negroes is suspended; but in that very week, were so many hours of fair or 'holding up' weather & throughout the whole such an absence of that cold & chilly dampness which makes, I think, the sting of a storm in U.S. that one who has been bred in Massachusetts & New York might be serene without needing an Epictetus,[238] or pretending to be one. To day we have had some heavy thunder, & it is the second or third time that I recollect to have noticed it since coming to the West Indies say 6 months ago. These rains & above all this thunder are regarded I find by some, & those the men of experience, as a favorable indication in respect to hurricanes which are more to be apprehended after drought & calm heat.

One word more & I have done with the climate; it is said to ameliorate as elsewhere in the progress of cultivation & clearing of the lands; men telling here as with

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[236] Shakespeare, William (English dramatist and poet, 1564-1616). *Richard II* (1597), Act III, Scene 1: "This and much more, much more than twice all this." Later in this sentence, a quote from Sonnet 33: "Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye."
[237] Spanish - much water (in the superlative).
[238] Epictetus, Phrygian stoic philosopher, c. 50-138.

us stories of most dire rainstorms & miry roads & horses perishing in the same & negroes sickening & all work embargoed by the elements, 'in old times' which come down to 4 or 5 or 6 years ago. The last great hurricane - *tormenta ruinosa*[239] - noted in the Almanack was in 1825.

Although this is the season for masks and to day the last Sunday but one before its termination, yet there were but few to be found abroad & such as ventured out in spite of sloppy streets must have been I think of the lowest order. If next Sunday should be fair, there will doubtless be more & merrier.

You must pardon Dr Channing for not preaching so soon after his voyage. I remember, months after his arrival at St. Croix that he said he had not thoroughly recovered the tone of his system so much had it been deranged by sea-sickness. I am glad you saw Mrs D. [Derby?]—& am glad you were pleased with her.

As to the lack of information in my letters about the West Indies —he that is good at making excuses is good for what, says the Dr.? You are a lawyer & I retain you to plead my cause. Jesting apart, I write down almost every thing that I think will escape memory, or will much & agreeably interest my friends; but sometimes I write to Mother sometimes to R. W. &c. &c. & sometimes I note a little incident in my memorandum book, & what I thus put on paper in one place I care not to repeat in any other, as, if nothing unforeseen prevent, sooner or later you will sponge up all my little items, in one or other of these forms. When you go to Boston, put your feet on the fender & dutifully peruse whatever has not already passed under your eyes. And when I come to pass a few summer days amongst those whom I love & whose love is now to me in the stead of company, whose clearly recollected features often cheer & soothe my solitude—then you may put me upon the Stand & examine me at your leisure.

Meantime I thank you for all the information you give, as to politics &c. & friends.—The *Whigs*[240] were so old that they happened to be behind our information by other arrivals, but let not that discourage you from putting in to any vessel a selected

[239] Spanish - ruinous storm. On 26 July 1825, a devastating hurricane struck Puerto Rico.
[240] A political newspaper; many with that title were published at the time, because the opposition to president Andrew Jackson called itself the Whigs, in reference to the British party that opposed the Crown.

number of any newspapers which you can procure without cost, because we are often visited by Captains who have no interest or and forget that we have any in U.S. news. The latest 2 or 3 Journals may be more acceptable if equally at hand, than a file of any one; and if they come by the way of St. Thomas they should be sealed, as I hear of curious & unscrupulous fingers being sometimes connected with itching ears. Scandal I hate—but I want what you send should arrive. For the present, Goodbye says your affectionate brother Edward.

Your hint about action &c in mercantile life I read to Mr Mason, & if he chose he may call my limbs more into play; but what I find to make a great difference between mercantile & other professions is that even the coumpting room industry is less exhausting than the study of the lawyer at least. The mind is occupied upon facts or figures representing facts & it arranges reduces, computes &c with attention & earnestness, indeed, but without that strain & effort which accompanies the lawyer's reading, while he is endeavouring to grave into his lowermost memory some abstract principle, which he may at some future day have need to apply, & straining his imagination in supposing cases that may arise or balancing feathers of evidence, & taking the angle of inclination, in opinions pro & con.

Since I arrived in Porto Rico I have taken up say $30. from Sidney Mason Esq. of which I have now in pocket say 5. My expenses are for mending, cobbling, diversion, barbers & jobs of one kind & another & some small purchases.
[End of letter]

18th July. Wrote letters at compting room to brothers & Mother & Aunt. Translated 2 pages Spanish.- After dinner walked out with Mr. Cunningham.

Mr John Mason returned last evening from Guayama: having travelled thence between 5½ AM & 7½ PM. on horseback - Say 60 miles.

19 July. Compting Room. My fellow-clerk Joaquin Esquiaga told me much of Biscaya whence he comes, & which is a province of Spain that enjoys some privileges - Amongst the rest it is a seignory, & not styled a part of the kingdom of Spain,

Ferdinand being Lord, not king of Biscaya & when he makes any decree touching the rights of Biscayans, they have a council which convenes under an old tree in a venerated spot ( )[241] & there assents or protests.-

All the Biscayans may be 600000. All the Biscayans speak a language distinct from Spanish & have some literature in their idiom which is Bask. The names of individuals are all significant, being simple or compound Biscayan words. The houses are not only numbered in the streets, but they too are named separately, & the name given often denotes the position of the building. This custom of naming houses is a great advantage to the stranger in any place.

The Biscayans are quite fair-complexioned (says my informant) & good agriculturists on a hard soil, as well as good mariners.

Nothing remarkable occurred to day; the port is full of vessels, say 21; sugar as plenty on the estates as ever, but prices so dull that even the money-less planters reluctantly send it it to purchasers who reluctantly receive it knowing from their last accounts sales in United States that they can expect little or no profit, perhaps not a saving return from a shipment. Flour is plenty & hangs in the market, offered at 13$ where lately it was 16 & 18. Some of the vessels here will go away with their cargoes or part of them to other ports of the island & perhaps fare no better, so quickly do a few of these capacious vehicles supply & glut the appetite of a population like that of this city & its extensive neighborhood.

Walked after dinner & played for exercise &c.

20.th July - At Compting room - translated 5 pages. Wrote letter to Mr Derby (R.C.) & after dinner walked with Mr Cunningham the circuit of the city. Goodbye day & as I was sleepy this morning, welcome night.

21 July. At Compting room, translated 3½ pages, wrote postscripts to letters home, &c.

After dinner (whereat was served a dish of a shell fish like a small turtle, the meat prepared & contained within the concave of the shell which laid on the back in

[241] Left blank in the manuscript – Guernica?

the dish) took nap to prepare for an evening's visit to the *maroma*, an opportunity presented by Mr Sidney Mason.

At this exhibition of the rope dancers I was well gratified, both with the execution of the feats & the general decorum of the assembly & also with the comfortable accommodations which the temporary & roughly built theatre afforded. It was much better for air &c. than a sumptuous building with a close roof; since here we had the classical covering of a canvass awning between which & the upper thatching over the boxes or *parcos*[242] we could see the stars of the sky. The music was tolerably good & the variety contrived by change of dress was well adapted to prevent spectators from being weary with performances which were chiefly exhibited by the same two female dancers. I left at 10, after which I learn, came a silly & dull pantomime.

22d July. Received from St Thomas W.E's letters of 20 & 25 June & C.C.E's of 12. March – quite refreshing – though I hate that word. My mother's of reviving is better. No translating done. Copied. Walked P.M. – Mr Mason tells me the wood work of the houses in the city is almost as uninflammable as the stone. It will char & burn to a coal before it will blaze, or communicate; hence no fires. Happy preventative against the malice of any irritated servant or designing rogue.- This wood is of the Island growth, that coming from U.S. being rarely used except in the construction of the country houses &c. & sometimes for floors; not forming therefore the bulk of the fabric.

Mr Mason tells me that *Alcalde* (at least the 1st & 2d *Alcalde* of a place) corresponds to our Mayor, & the inferior *Alcaldes* to our Aldermen. On a complaint to the head *Alcalde*, the latter refers the matter if proper, to a judge (*juez*).

23 July. At Compting Room. Translated 10 pages & talked during heavy showers & after dinner got a walk with friend Cunningham before the rain. The moon is struggling with the rude clouds & upon the whole the evening is not so unpleasant as

[242] Correctly, *palcos*; Spanish - theater boxes.

it is blustering. The bad weather here is about bad enough to make the good which predominates more agreeable.

Packets to day from Spain & Havana entered within a few hours of each other.

Sunday. July 24. 2 arrivals from Spain again to day.– I did little & thought little.

At about 4. the street of *La tanca* ('the sewer')[243] was full of boys & girls & some men & women chiefly of the colored people dressed in every variety of costume, excepting ordinary apparel; some wearing masks, some chapeaus, some paper foolscaps, some tinsel epaulettes, some gay handkercheifs arranged as head dresses, or floating like scarfs from the shoulders, some chalked, & one tarred, & many painted or smooched enough to deform if not disguise their natural features & hue.

There were several troops of these frolickers; & one or two carried flags & followed leaders, with much noise & sometimes in a kind of chorus responding to one who sung or rather repeated a little catch or phrase that could not be distinctly heard - at least I could make nothing of it. One peculiarity distinguished the maskers of today – which was that almost all carried a wooden or tin sword, beside some emblematical figure of a horse – either a staff with a tail made of a kind of broomcane which resembles feathers very much, & with a horse's head, of pasteboard or rags attached or carved upon the same which they bestrode, or carried or else an image or doll-horse which they carried in hand as any other toy.

This knightly mummery is commemorative of the chivalric prowess & fame of St Jago whose *fiesta* festival the people thus celebrate, to day, I suppose only because it is the day preceding the proper anniversary & if it should be fair will keep up tomorrow in like manner.

I see opposite the tavern a rude apparatus of stick & ring at which these knights tilt.

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[243] The word *tanca* does not figure in the current or the historical dictionaries of the Real Academia Española de la Lengua. Advertisements in the *Gaceta* (for example, 27 September 1831: 920) call it *el Caño de la Tanca* (the gutter of la Tanca). In Emerson's time, the southern the end of the street met the city wall, and a large grilled opening allowed the run-off to empty close to the bay; see maps in Sepúlveda Rivera, *San Juan, historia ilustrada*, 92, 127, 142.

Altogether so far as confined to the boys & negroes, there seems a sufficient diversion in this masking, rude as it is, but there are not a few adults engaged in it who do not infuse character enough into their parts to make good apology for the trouble they take & notice they try to excite.

Monday. July 25. Heavy showers make the streets impassable & threaten to forbid masking.

At noon the guns fire for some cause.[244] Would that those aimed at the Poles were as harmless. I hear the news about those patriots are gloomy; & that mighty Russia is pouring hundreds of thousands on them &c.

This morning I read McDuffie's dinner speech on tariff operation & nullification.[245] I think his reasoning in the main correct & his warmth interesting & his style of argument happy, though I love the 'Union' & wish no Nullification.

Played with friend Cunningham a couple of hours for exercise & the rainy weather continuing, took some games of chess with Mr Sidney Mason who is a beginner.

The negroes seemed to be at their dances all night for at day break their ching-ching music was still heard, & from this I suppose they go to their toils.

July 26. Today it is 6 years since the great hurricane; the rain has ceased for a spell & I got a long walk before going to the Compting room.

After dinner – went to the square & stood till I was weary & half disgusted with the maskers who passed & repassed before the spectators. Much the greater proportion were rather disagreeable than pleasant objects; & the gait & demeanor either foolish or insipid. I almost wonder that the Governor (who sat in the square

[244] The guns were fired in honor of Santiago, one of the patron saints of Spain, and especially its supporter in battle.

[245] Probably U. S. Representative George McDuffie (1790-1851). The federal tariff on importations (to protect American industry, mostly in the north) produced outrage in southern states (the tariff of 1828 was called the Tariff of Abominations). Protective tariffs resulted in higher cost of manufactured products, and lowered foreign demand for cotton. Opponents of federal tariffs, and laws regarding slaves and free black persons supported the idea that a state legislature, if it considered that a federal statute violated the Constitution, could refuse ("nullify") its local enforcement. See Meacham, Jon. *American lion: Andrew Jackson in the White House*. New York: Random House, 2009: 53.

with his suite looking at the show) has consented at the request of a delegation of the masked to permit the people a continuance of this mode of diversion until the 30th of the coming month; since without such special consent, it would have ended yesterday.

There were some as I learn, who yesterday pretended to represent peasants of Gallicia[246] – so far I am glad - but where was the dramatic spirit that should give zest? Where the easy but interesting dialogue, the well-sustained disguise of character & deportment that should awake intense curiosity & surprise by apparently marvelous intimacy of the seeming stranger with all our own private history & traits? Something of this latter may indeed have ocurred in the private visits of the maskers to the houses of their neighbors & at the balls, but as far as the observation of a bystander goes, I suspect that but very few have infused or attempted to excite any such agreeable interest; the very soul of the amusement. Where too the instructive & imaginative uses? Why danced not the Hours? Why came not in appropriate garb the Seasons? the Months? the Representations of the 4 quarters of the globe, & the rising & falling nations? the Heroes of antiquity & of modern fame? Not one – not one. Plain downright unmeaning disguise or distortion was the common order of the day.[247]

July 28 Nothing especially remarkable occurred, except the arrival of 4 Spanish vessels before breakfast, one, or two coming from Spain with flour, which is already abundant here.

Talked about the duty of consul to exact from captains (discharging crews on account of alteration of voyage or sale of vessel) 3 months' extra wages for each seaman discharged. This is not due if the vessel were condemned or stranded.

Dined & slept - till 6 AM.! +

[246] Galicia, the northwestern region of Spain.
[247] The celebrations were not intended for instruction. Governor de La Torre, who allegedly stated: "While the people are having fun, they don't think of conspiring," ruled not only by military power, but by what wags called "the government of the three Bs" – not as usually meant, *bueno*, *bonito*, *barato* (good, beautiful, inexpensive), but *baile*, *botella*, *baraja* (dance, bottle for drinking, cards for gambling); see Cruz Monclova, *Historia*, 249-252; Brau, Salvador. *Historia de Puerto Rico*, 241.

29 July. – Mem. John Mason's account of negro coming with sword & pistol & giving disturbance in his entry last evening. Result may be the death of negro but is uncertain. (?)

Wrote a Spanish letter to W.E. Translated 4 pages &c &c. After dinner walked with Mr Cunningham & Mr Calder to the 1st entrenchment.

Never has seemed more transparent our atmosphere or more beautiful the green hills across the bay or inlet than this afternoon, although the morning was so cloudy & so rainy that the day was probably set down for a bad one by weatherwise.

July 30 – A most pure & brilliant morning. Passed the day without special occurrences. Evening chess.

July 31. - Sunday. Was called upon to break over old landmarks. The *Charles & Ellen* sailed to day & *Superior*. Evening walked – saw masks & a show of lamps at the windows. Talked of adventures & heard of President Monroe's death on 4 July.

August 1831

August 1st. Received parcel from W.E., manifold &c. Walk, chess. *Stark Armistead* arrived from Philadelphia with long passage & spoiled onions. All the merchants are talking of glutted market - & dull sales, here & St. Thomas.

August 2d Was busy at compting room & did not translate my three pages. Walked with Mr Cunningham after dinner & picked a few shells on the beach.

August 3. Nothing but accounts to examine & letters to copy occupied me at the compting room. A walk, & a few more shells diverted me for the evening.

One of the St Thomas packets has gone to take a siesta, or more properly has been laid up by its captain or proprietor in a snug corner of the harbor called I believe 'Hurricane bay' to pass the remainder of the Hurricane season, i.e the months in which

blows are more apt to occur. These Hurricanes have fallen out every 6 years for a long time back & this being the 6th since the last is cause of greater timidity with some.

Aug 4. Nothing remembered as noticeable except pleasant weather & walk.

Aug 5. Began the labor of transcribing into Journal at Compting House which is blank from February 19 to this date; I copy from a rough Journal which has been kept along more regularly from 'Waste' or Blotter (?).[248] With all my care half a dozen blunders in first page showed me how green I was & how foolish is self-confidence even in trifles.

Aug 6. Went on with my copying. It strikes at the root of my translating project for the present, since I hold myself bound to give all time at compting-room to the work put into my hands, & after 9 hours of labor, I feel ill fitted to begin a toil even of so much interest as the translation. - To day the spoiled cargo of the *Stark Armistead* was exposed - I believe – to a sort of sale but was found worthless.

Aug 7.- After a night in which mosquitoes stung me, perhaps the more because of my excesses at dinner &c. (claiming right to assess the overburdened for their own gratification), I rose to accompany Mr Sidney Mason to the country.

During a pleasant sail, I read Everett's excellent & simple lecture to the Ch. Lyceum on the "Working Men's party" – How pleasant to see the "που"[249] offered to a sensible & philanthropic Archimedes; & just views given to those who most need them by those whose character & popularity make their opinions acceptable & current.

After a pleasant ride from the landing to Santa Barbara, in which I noticed the good smell of the country, & the bright yellow flowers of the *mahagua*, we breakfasted at ½ past IX. & then I had opportunity to read Dr Channing's sermon at ordination of

[248] Waste-book or blotter - a rough account-book in which all transactions (purchases, sales, receipts, payments, etc.) were entered at the time of their occurrence, to be 'posted' afterwards into the more formal books of the set.
[249] Greek - "where" or "how", probably the latter, in this context.

F. Farley[250] – I had read it before, when I was in the midst of such things; but now I need to recur to views of the dignity & responsibility of human minds, if I would not be driven to them hereafter by the frightful overseer Remorse, so possible may it be that here, where the name of Deity & the name of virtue come so seldom to the ear, with the tone & the doctrines that usually accompany them in New England.

I say not that there is no internal piety or virtuous effort or sacrifice here, but if such fruits do abound - the leaves & the blossoms are so scanty & the produce so disposed of as to make the vineyard very unlike the pictures of a second Eden that we form under the instructions of northern divines. With all allowance - & I am surely disposed to make a liberal one for the good works & private worth & clear consciences, & correct observance of enjoined forms of faith & practice, which may exist among my present neighbors, to a degree that possibly will give them a right to rise up in judgment & condemn ourselves for profession & delinquency – still I fear there must be much crime & impurity, mingled with the ignorance of the people about me.

I am told of priests who have been beastly drunkards, & great cockfighters. I see much gambling. I hear of bribery as the great advocate in lawsuits; of duelling – of men taking vengeance with knives & other practices that indicate licence instead of liberty. I hear hardly a book named; I see the people go to mass but they seem to have little respect for their clergy & this with the great paucity & uniformity of the religious books put into their hands must I think render their religion nearly stationary if not retrograde in respect to its influence in stimulating the mind towards imitation of divine perfections.

When I took breakfast & dinner with company (I say nothing against my companions individually nor condemn their actual indulgencies more than my own at the time,) the preparation alone was *prima facie* evidence against the inhabitants of the city St John & indicates somewhere gluttony or gourmandism. Some might say the provision was baronial, liberal &c, but it so far exceeded liberality & plenty as to be a

[250] Channing, William Ellery, 1780-1842. *[Man, the image of his maker.] A discourse delivered at the ordination of the Rev. Frederick A. Farley: as pastor of the Westminster Congregational Society in Providence, Rhode Island, September 10, 1828*. Boston: Bowles and Dearborn, 1828.

sort of insult offered to the mind of man & this too especially when there is talk of hard times, small profits, beggared planters &c. Why it would be wrong if there was one beggar on earth to set such monstrous superfluity before 12 honest men, unless the fragments were to go to the needy mendicant. Such a sentiment may seem to some foolish because Judas the traitor said something like it; but Judas said what he did because he knew the expression was just & true though his heart went not with it, & therein was his fault; besides the glorious character of him honored by the anointing.

Aug 8. On arriving at the city last evening. We found the *Catalina*[251] arrived from Baltimore. She made her homeward passage hence in 8 days - the shortest known from this to Baltimore. She brings news of losses on shipments of sugar - & accounts of relief to Fayetteville sufferers[252] & the solemn procession at the funeral of James Monroe & the progress of steamboats - 66 in one year built on one of the canals (was it?) - & of the great fire at New York &c.

Mr Hoope left today for St Thomas. After dinner strolled a little & in evening played chess.

Aug 9. Was busy copying all day at compting room.

After dinner walked with Mr Cunningham who had attended the ball yesterday evening given at expense of the city to the Governor as a compliment on his renewed appointment to the office for 5 years more.[253] The picture of the king was at one end of the hall & in front of it an empty chair, guarded as if it had been filled by his majesty, with a soldier on each side, holding a drawn sword; the two soldiers were relieved at the end of 2 hours by other two. The dancing was wholly carried on by the step of the waltz. The ladies, some pretty none exquisitely beautiful in opinion of the New England judge – their dresses not extremely elegant but some quite showy. The

[251] From the frequent mention in the journal, and the coincidence with the name of Mason's daughter, it could be that the ship belonged to Mason's firm.
[252] On May 29, 1831, a fire consumed most buildings of Fayetteville, North Carolina, but no lives were lost.
[253] There were celebrations from 30 July to 30 August, while the ball described here is dated 11 August, according to Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 173, 183.

number of military officers gave the appearance of a military ball. There was no supper, & the refreshments generally light beverages & perhaps a cake for the ladies.

Since walking I have been playing for exercise & now come for a game of chess.

We put away our game for a talk with Colonel Flinter who is all alive with the encouragement he has received from Government to go on with his projected work on Porto Rico - for which the historical materials (he says) are scanty, or rather that there has been but one history of the Island &c. & that quite ancient, by Padre __(?).[254]

Aug 10th Spent the day as usual: writing, walking - playing chess.

A sad family is that of Mrs Sidney Mason's - father and mother who are considered by the physicians as beyond their skill to relieve, while two sisters or 3 are confirmed invalids.

Called on Mrs John Mason & Colonel Flinter. An English Barque came in to day.

Aug. 11. Spent the day much as usual. Towards evening it grew very blustering & from the beach the sea seemed to be chafed & the waves talked of strong winds & I was glad that my home was not on the deep for this night. We have had lightning & hazy clouds about us & it is pleasant to be within doors.

Had a game of chess which is an excellent diversion for this climate when body & mind have been exercised enough.

Aug 12th I passed the day much as usual, but it was an uncommon day in respect to weather. The sloop of Dominguez[255] started for St Thomas, and returned after an hour or two, fearful of tempestuous weather, & the wind was boisterous & cool all the forenoon, much like squally gales at sea. After dinner all was calm & hot & had there been banners on our fortifications - the breeze had scarcely power to wave them.

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[254] Abbad y Lasierra, *Historia geográfica*, 1788. Reprinted 1831.

[255] According to the journal entries for 31 October and 1st November 1832, the sloop *Lady Bunting* (alias *Niña Bonita*), property of Antonio Domínguez, served as one of the regular packets between St. Thomas and Puerto Rico.

I abstain from study after dinner & so have come to a halt in Spanish, & think I rather go behind hand. But when occasion comes I must take a tradewind & make up for the present loss.

Aug. 13th was passed without unusual occurrences. – For a week I have not seen Mrs Sidney Mason so constantly does she remain with her sick father & sisters.

Mrs John Mason I saw this evening. Mr John Mason returned without having purchased sugars. The British Barque *Dominica* is to be loaded with sugar for London & will carry perhaps over 500 hogsheads, probably of the poorer sort.

14.th August Wrote off some of my old mems. at St. Croix, in the shape of a letter to mother. Walked after dinner & read 10 pages *Don Quijote* of his conversation with the galley culprits.

A French Brig came in with tricolored flag.

& the loveliness of the weather, as pure & calm & settled as if the winds of Friday had never blown is remarkable.

15 August. To day I rose early, i.e. before light & noticed that at 5 it is too grey & dim for reading with comfort & now at 1/2 past 5 the sun is but just forcing his way up through a bank of blue eastern clouds. The air is such as to leave nothing to be desired. What a treasure this serenity, this purity of atmosphere - the old woman that Aunt M. tells of, would say "this blessed air", with justifiable rapture, here.

Went into the country to day with John Mason to pass the *Fiesta del Asuncion*(?)[256] & except reading 20 pages of *Don Quijote* can claim little credit for industry - & less for any other improvement of my advantages on this pleasant holiday.

I was not calm enough nor temperate enough to enjoy all the delights which the country offered & can only hope that by more self-control & moderation for the future

[256] Correctly, *de la Asunción*, Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary to Heaven.

I may avoid the stupidity of getting a headach by an excursion which might have been as well as not an uninterrupted series of gratifications.

To close the day I was beaten in 2 games of chess. A lighter dinner might have saved one of them.

16 August- Wrote hard at compting room- walked - played, read.

Don Quijote was a generous fellow after all about the treasure trove which he gave to Sancho. Cervantes was a gentleman in his own spirit I know.

Heard to day of the loss of the *Charles & Ellen*.

August 17. Wrote as usual till dinner time. 2 vessels arrived with American flags one from Salem & the other from South America.- After dinner played with Mr Cunningham & called at Mr John Mason's. Read 10 pages *Don Quijote*, of his meeting Cardenio on the mountain.

August 18. Wrote &c at the Compting House.

Received three letters from Mother, R W, & C.C.E. Cannot but think W.E. is right & consults his interest or at least his peculiar turn of mind & capacity in becoming editor. It is a more liberal profession & has more spacious & discursive paths than that of the mere attorney, & few have the strength & the patience to bide the contingency of becoming at a distant day the leaders of the forensick debate & the chancellors & chief justices. Yet it is by the retirement of such as W. that less gifted & studious men attain those high places when the time comes.

Received also to day some good newspapers from Boston with an honorable account of the celebration of 4. July; such an account as good men may rejoice to see & makes me respect Boston still the land of steady habits, the city of the sensible the intelligent.

Walked after dinner & after 10 pages of *Don Quijote* in which Cardenio begins his tale.

August 19. Wrote with not a few blunders; passed a day somewhat more pleasant than usual; after dinner heard Mr Cunningham read in the Boston newspapers some extracts from *American Library of Useful Knowledge*[257] about Whittemore's card machine (quasi intelligent) & Whitney's cotton gin so productive of profit to the Southern planters, & Perkin's contrivance for soaking & hardening again steel plates.[258] Also Baltimore presentment of jury ascribing crime to want of education; quite good.

Walked, saw a crowd of convict laborers returning from their toil their chains clanking as they went apparently not so much depressed by their duresse as many prisoners, in other regions. Perhaps the open air in which they labor & the society & talk of their fellows cheer them.

After walk played chess with more deliberation & success than usual.

August 20- Wrote at Compting house, ate, drank, walked, called at the sick house of Mrs Mason's family & saw my old fellow traveler Don Jose Dorado stretched on a bed hardly whiter than his white hair, & with a face & form very like to that of the dead. He spoke with calmness & with as much politeness as if he were well, asking about my health &c., & when I wished him better &c, he replied *Que Dios se lo pague*.[259] Called at John Mason's.

Sunday August 21- Went into the country with Sidney Mason. Enjoyed much the calm cool air, & the sights of the smooth glassy water reflecting the trees on the banks & the boats which met as with images almost perfect. We rode double but with great ease

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[257] Boston Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. *The American Library of Useful Knowledge*, vol. 1. Boston: Stimpson and Clapp, 1831, 320 pages, online http://books.google.com.pr/books?id=Wpw0AAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=american+library+of+useful+knowledge&source=bl&ots=T_cjo72bzG&sig=u2sK96lj8mmtaDnM7ugw8ZJDq4w&hl=es&ei=VXVhTbbYMs-ftweJocnuCw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CBEQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false

[258] Three inventions by sons of Massachusetts. Amos Whittemore's machine (1797) could card (cleanse, disentangle and collect together) fibers of cotton and wool, so they could be spun into thread. Eli Whitney's cotton gin (1793) separated cotton fibers from seeds. Jacob Perkins invented a machine for mass-producing nails (1790) and devised an improved method of preparation of steel plates for engraving (ca. 1810).

[259] Spanish - May God repay (your kindness).

from Cataña[260] landing place to Santa Barbara – stopping at Santa Ana.[261] I noticed the Sensitive plant of greater heighth & size than hitherto 'it has been my lot to mark' it, & with its purplish flower.

We spoke of roads & the advantage which could be derived from attention in this respect to the island, by inducing travel & facilitating inland transportation &c. Measures must originate, however, with the government & they last feel the necessity, while others who should urge them on are cautious and procrastinating, & perhaps shudder at the petty expenses that attend the first motions in such matters. A petition cannot go up from more than 3, under pain of being considered mutinous; & to get the matter represented, a number must empower an individual & this would cause some costs, for instruments; & beginnings are reluctantly made for future contingent advantages.

Read much to day in the U.S. newspapers of the progress of the world in various paths - manufactures (e.g. Egypt) education (U.S.) & religion – some good scraps from Fox (the minister) & some in an Almanac. Passed the day rather pleasantly.

The Spaniards call the sensitive plant *sensitiva* & the vulgar name here is *mure y vivi*, or 'live & die'.[262] Another pretty plant with strong smelling flowers (white) is called *jasmin*[263] *de Castilla*; a rose of beautiful deep color but no odor is called *Rosa de las Indias*.

I saw large bundles of *aguacates* (the avocado pear) brought by the negroes to Santa Ana Estate this evening being the produce of their Sunday's excursion to some of the distant trees which bear this fruit in abundance. It is of a green color as large as a pound pear or larger & much like it externally; within quite soft & marrow-like, eaten with bread & salt or in soup, but always raw, & is said to be very fattening to the negroes. It ripens in the house as well as on the tree, & has a large spheroidal stone in its centre, say 1½ inch to 2½ inch in diameter. Some eat it with oil; I should think it rich enough without that.

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[260] Correctly, *Cataño*, across the bay from San Juan.
[261] Plantation nearby.
[262] Correctly, *morivivi*, a contraction of "[I] died and lived".
[263] Correctly, *jazmín*.

At Monsieur Cadet's, near the landing place, we saw a root of the prickly pear, "leaf of little sage" or *penca de sabila* that had been hanging 4 years on one of the beams of the house without earth or water, & from which as often as requisite pieces have been cut for medicinal uses, either in the way of a wash or a dose of water in which it has been soaked. The plant preserves still its greenness & on moving it drops of sap fell freely. Some of the sprouts die away & others come forth. !

The mango I have before liked for its fine flavor. To day I learned to consider it as a very handsome fruit; at least one specimen was shown me that would vie with almost any fruit for delicacy of hue.

On our return we were overtaken by a smart shower from which an umbrella & cloaks protected us & by a good providence we came safe to land.

August 22. To day we had a flash of lightning accompanied with a peal or rather an explosion of thunder so simultaneously & so suddenly that as I turned from my desk at the compting room & saw the fire as it were plunge down among the shipping into the sea, I could discern no interval between the startling blaze & the sound of the bolt. I never witnessed thunder more instantaneous & terrific, on account of its coming without any previous & more distant peals to prepare us. The cloud had encompassed us at once & after one more flash followed with the thunder at an interval of a few seconds, it passed away & the weather became calm & warm & the evening has been cheered by the moon beams bright.

The want of solemnity on the descent of the lightning in those around me appeared unaffected & I suppose comes from habit & education. The negro girl at the house had put on her consecrated palm leaf string[264] as a safeguard & Mr Mason said many had probably concealed the same on some part of their persons during the thunder storm. He was in the custom house & noticed those about him crossing themselves.

To night read *Don Quijote*, walked, played & now - to bed.

[264] Fiber from a palm leaf blessed during the Palm Sunday ceremonies that inaugurate Holy Week.

August 23 Wrote as usual.

After dinner was told (by Antonio Comas) that the person had just died who had held the office of *aguacil*[265] or high sheriff that, he owned that office by purchase from the government at the price of 10 000 $ & that it devolved like other property to his son in whose favor he the deceased it had demised it; that this son has 70 days in which to consider whether he will assume the office or let it revert to government, that several other offices are likewise sold, e.g. those of *regidores* or deputy sheriffs - notaries, and sometimes lieutenant's & captain's posts.[266] The money goes to the island treasury - which is in debt 1,200 000 $ - partly in consequence of arrears due the military officers from the years 1823 to 1826 during which space they were paid only one third of their dues -(?)

The large yellow bell flower at Sta Barbara is called *Campana de Castilla*.[267] The pink (tall bush) flower is the *astromea*.

Played with Mr Cunningham, & read 10 pages of *Don Quijote* - & now to bed.

August 24. Passed a day of steady writing- & *post pransum*[268] walked as far as Don Jose Dorado's where the ladies were calm & affable though the father is probably near death; thence went to the café & amused & exercised myself till 1/2 past 8. Returned & retired.

August 25. Nothing remarkable occurred to day & I hardly know whether to give it a black or a white ball in memory's box.

Agreed with Pepe Calvo (fellow clerk) to take & give lessons English & Spanish - 3 times a week.

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[265] Correctly, *alguacil*. The position mentioned here is the "regidor alguacil mayor" or municipal councilman high sheriff. It was held by Manuel Hernáiz, a powerful and controversial member of the San Juan elite, who was buried on 23 August 1831, see AHASJ, PC, Entierros, libro 28, 1831-1834, f. 17-17v. (the page is almost completely corroded and torn, but the index indicates "Manuel Hernaiz" for that page, and "married with Apolonia Segura" is legible). The Manuel Hernaiz indicated in other sources as "regidor mayor" in San Juan for 1832 must therefore refer to his son, Manuel Hernaiz Segura.

[266] Absolute monarchies in Europe (such as Spain still was in 1831) sold government posts to raise money. In Spain, "oficios venales", "vendibles" or "enajenados de la Corona" (alienated from the Crown) were redeemed back to government jurisdiction by a Royal Decree of 23 July 1835.

[267] Spanish - Bell of Castille.

[268] Mixture of Latin and Italian – after a meal

Mr Mason tells me that the plantain grows here so easily that it has been thought essentially to contribute to the idleness of the people & to their neglect of more permanent supplies such as depend for example on roots & vegetables that would not suffer from a hurricane, & one governor either forbad or proposed to forbid the culture of the plantain, & even meditated cutting down the trees then growing, in order to compel industry.

August 26. - Nothing remarkable in the forenoon or day - but in the evening between 10 & 11 o'clock, I went to see & took part in the ceremony of bringing the "host" from the church to the house of Don Jose Dorado, where the Sacrament was administered between 11 & 12 o'clock to 3 of the sick family.[269] In the apartment of each of these, separately, the priest repeated the creed & asked the assent of the persons to the same. He went through some forms of prayer quite rapidly, & said a few words which seemed to my ear as much a matter of form, as the rest, to each of the patients. He administered the wafer & poured oil or wine (I suppose) upon the feet of the sick, which were uncovered for the purpose, as they sat in bed.

Meanwhile the friends who had come to witness or assist in the ceremony & the negroes, to the number of from 15 to 20 were kneeling about the doors of the apartments moving from one to the other as the priest went to them successively. The negroes were the most constant in their devotions, some of the whites rising after a little while & retiring to the piazza. There was nothing in the manner of the priest which evinced that deep personal solicitude & affection & tenderness which protestants expect from their pastors, & the want of these is much more felt in the case of prayer & confession in behalf of a sick or dying man, than in the case of the ordinary public exercises of the church. The Priest said nothing to the assembled friends, as far as I observed, not a word - and simply went through his forms, as

[269] Emerson describes the administration of last sacraments – last communion (the consecrated host) and "extreme unction" or "anointing of the sick" with oil (not wine).

through a lesson, or by rote. He was aided in his duties by one canonical (?)[270] who said nothing at all.

After the ceremonies were concluded at the house, the friends again lighted their large wax candles which they had brought from the church, & returned as they came, walking bareheaded in two lines in front of the priest & his attendant.[271] Over these last a broad & fringed umbrella was carried, but the others were bidden to put down their umbrellas though it rained. A small bell was shaken continually as the little procession moved. Two soldiers who appeared at the door of the church, on our first coming out, both kneeling on one knee & presenting arms, accompanied us us a guard, & remaining at the door of the house during the services, returned as before with the priest to the church.

On passing through the square, the drum beat at the soldier's station near the *Cabildo* (Town House), all the while the procession remained in sight. Some persons took notice of the approach of the host, & brought lights to their balconies, & knelt as it passed. I took the advice of Mr Mason & did not return with the priest, as the bad weather made me not unwilling to wear both a hat & an umbrella at midnight, so I hastened home convinced that the ceremony I had witnessed was not such as the nature of a sick or dying man seems to me require, or Christianity to teach.

It is singular too that it was earnestly wished by some of the family in the present case, notwithstanding, that one of the sick persons was much opposed to it, not conceiving herself in such imminent danger as to need the "extreme 'unction' ". - It is said sometimes to have a bad effect in depressing the hope of recovery.

27th August - Wrote as usual in Compting house. After a rainy day, the *Catalina* sailed at sundown for Baltimore. A single American vessel remains in port, but one more is reported by the pilot as about entering.

To day Mr Calder who was passenger in the *Charles & Ellen* (lost at Guayama) arrived from Guayama at 3 P.M. having left yesterday morning, on horseback, & so

[270] Perhaps means "canónigo", one of the canons of the cathedral chapter; i. e. a high-ranking priest in the administration of the diocese.
[271] The ceremonial accompaniment, presumably similar on coming as on going back to church, reflects the belief in the actual presence of Christ in the consecrated hosts carried by the priest.

displeased with the roads &c that 100$ would not hire him to repeat his journey. He says Guayama is a town, some 6 miles from the beach, with say 2000 people, that the custom house is in the town, while the stores & houses of the merchants i.e. of all concerned in the shipping are upon the beach making a little village of one or two hundred persons.

Sunday.- August 28. Read Dr Channing's New Year sermon with pleasure, & think his notion of the wordiness of the Trinity doctrine excellent & true. Wrote a letter to mother; called at Mr Viner's & Mr Cunningham's.

August 29. Wrote as usual in the Journal at Compting room. After dinner took lesson with Calvo, & short walk with Cunningham; called at John Mason's & planned an excursion for tomorrow in the boat to the beach opposite the town in quest of shells.

Porto Rico rice of this year's crop was on table to day & it was said could be bought for 2 dollars the *fanega* or 2 bushels & 1/2 but I believe in its husks(?)

August 30 *Fiesta de Santa Rosa - Padrona de las Indias*,[272] so we had a holiday, & before breakfast Mr John Mason & Mr Cunningham & myself sailed over a calm & clear water, walked a long way on a hard smooth sand beach, picking up such shells as were prettiest from heaps of fragments &c that had been washed up by the sea: but we procured nothing very brilliant or beautiful.

It was curious to see so many of the shells inhabited by living crabs, which as Mr Cunningham thinks do not belong there, but have only taken possession, (either by force & expulsion of the owner, or else by right of discovery after the original tenant's death) of these snug quarters.[273] They certainly contrive to fit themselves to their houses wonderfully & the facility with which they carry the tenement about is also remarkable. Several made attempts to walk away from the hand kercheif in which they were collected & the only way of saving the shell was found to be a compulsory

[272] Feast of Saint Rose (of Lima), female patron saint (*Patrona*) of the Indies.
[273] Hermit crabs.

ejectment or rather extraction of the tenant who was thrown into the water to take his chance again.

We got some specimens of the razor shell, an oblong flat species with the ends rather quadrated than pointed.

After breakfast had a talk with our store overseer, Pancho (Frank) about Gallicia, his native district in Spain. By his account the people there are a most orderly & respectable community; & some of his notices were such as to remind me of Xenophon's account of the Persian customs.[274] He says he should never be guilty of such a rudeness as to smoke or spit in his mother's presence, &c &c. Sunday is kept with the greatest tranquillity, & the diversions of the youth & men in general games of ball & pitching the bar, &c.

Aug. 31. To day commencement in Massachusetts, & here, as I suppose there, a warm day. I wrote as usual.

We heard of the French success at Lisbon, the news having come by the *Correo* which arrived yesterday.[275]

Mem. Yesterday conversed with Mr Sidney Mason about prospect of remaining here as his clerk next year. He thinks my terms too high, but will speak about it in November. His own conduct towards me in respect to the giving in as a bonus all my expenses since I have been here, in addition to the letter of the contract has been very generous. I like the man & while I would be just to myself in fixing my price, I should not wish to let my pride or anxiety for payment of debts to lead me beyond a reasonable demand.

[274] Xenophon (Greek soldier and writer, ca. 445-355 B.C.E.), in his *Anabasis* described the withdrawal from Persia of an army of Greek mercenaries, but also described in detail the peoples they met.
[275] King Miguel of Portugal, in a violent repression of liberals, also harassed foreign nationals and refused to answer the claims of their countries. The French blockaded Lisbon, captured Portuguese vessels, and imposed a treaty of reparations (14 July 1831).

September 1831

September 1. Arrived the *St. Thomas* (Schooner) from Gloucester Ms. (sic). I went to day to pay a visit of a week or so at Mr John Mason's during his absence at Guayama.

September 2. Nothing very noticeable to day - but I must be more resolute & temperate if I would get all the advantage of my residence, here in the way of health - & Spanish -

& what shall I begin to think about the casuistry of those who get domiciliated here by proving that they are Catholics, when they are really Protestants?[276]

September 3. Rose much before 5 & after that hour walked up the hill, to look on that sea, whose roar had been sounding distinctly in my ears from the time I first awoke. In the still of the morning before the noise of tongues & din of chaffering[277] & business & travel has begun - the sound of the waves is loud enough to impress the mind with the sense of their power, almost equal to that felt when we float at their mercy & in their lap.

And now it crosses my mind that this sound admonishes me of the uncertainty which rests on the prospect of my reunion with my distant friends.– I never use to think of that reunion as a doubtful event depending on a successful voyage, but as a pleasure which I can procure at will, when prudence shall dictate a return. Yet how shall I chain the winds or calm the sea at the time of my homeward passage - I must look humbly to heaven.

To day sailed the *Sally Ann* for Salem.

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[276] For example, Ralph Emerson and Winthrop Cunningham presented witnesses to sustain that they were baptized Catholics (see the respective notes when each appears in the journal). Profession of the Catholic faith was a legal requirement for residence in Puerto Rico. In addition, cemeteries accepted the remains only of those who died within the Catholic Church. Protestants were buried in unconsacrated, often makeshift and ill-maintained cemeteries; see Martínez-Fernández, *Frontiers, Plantations, and Walled Cities*, 69-74 “Don’t die here” [if you’re a Protestant]. As explained by the United States Consul in 1842, the regulations were strictly enforced until 1828, when governor de La Torre allowed that the permission to reside be given "upon a trifling sum of money being paid by the candidate" with "a show of adherence to ancient formalities", see Palerm, *Despachos*, 101.

[277] Dealing, trading, bargaining.

The news from Barbadoes, of the destruction of the town & of the loss of from 3 to 5 000 souls is confirmed by reports from St Thomas; & it is added that the living fear a pestilence from the atmosphere around the ruined houses which have fallen upon the dead men & animals.[278]

Mem. Inquire about the promulgation of the law to-day accompanied by a band of music through the street &c.[279]

[In left margin, drawing of fist with extended index finger pointing to the word "through"]

September 4. Sunday. The day was delightful - as a Summer day although in Autumn. The sun was fiercely hot but the common sense of man bade him keep the shady side of the street & the breezy side of the house, & to move with moderation. The art of living is a nice one, but a less laborious art by far in this climate than in the North; consisting here rather in preserving the even tone & natural temperament of the system; while there we are called upon to resist attacks, & to repair the battered frame.

Here we pass almost daily through the same gradual change of temperature from the calm & genial air of dawning day to the heat of 9 or 10 AM which is moderated more or less by breezes until the latter part of the afternoon when it is sometimes for a little while sultry, especially in the streets away from the sea; then comes evening with its cool & refreshing gales. We have only to guard against excesses either in exercise or sleep or meats or fruits or drinks. These three latter are so abundant, & the appetite so good that doubtless caution is necessary; still nature seems to me to help us through our slight imprudencies more easily here than in the cold country.

September 5- This first day of the 6 of work was rather tiresome, but has had its pleasures, among which I count 10 pages of *Don Quijote*.

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[278] Destruction due to a hurricane on 11 August 1831.
[279] Establishment of the “Real Audiencia” or territorial appeals court; see Córdova, *Memorias*, 6:184, 221.

It seems that the royal laws (*bandos reales*) are promulgated by the ceremony of last Saturday - i.e. A notary goes accompanied by the military band playing as they go through the streets until they reach the square where after reading the edict, the notary affixes it (?) on the appointed place, & it becomes the law.

September 6 - Nothing remarkable except the pleasant coolness of the morning, somewhat more than usually refreshing, & the arrival of an American schooner *Hampton* from North Carolina lumber laden.

September 7 - Nothing noticeable today. Mem. conversation in compting room about sugar sent to England hence; its probable destination to Hamburg &c. also about U.S. formerly importing cotton &c.

September 8- Holiday[280] & the only one that occurs from 1 September till the 1st week in November.

I called on Colonel Flinter whom I found busy over his manuscripts in a small apartment where it must be a pleasure to write - overlooking the boundless sea, & open to its reviving breeze. He read me some of his work & the energy & variety of his style seem to me to promise well for his success, as an author.

I read *Don Quijote* during most of my leisure hours, with great entertainment. I liked the conversation of the innkeeper with the curate when the latter advised the burning of some romances which the former prized as well as believed. - So too the second meeting of Don Quijote & the boy Andres, when the latter prays him never to come again to his aid, &c.

To day too I read in the *Gazette* an account of the Barbadoes hurricane which it seems occurred on the morning of the 11th August - & before day light, so that the morning revealed a scene of desolation rarely paralleled, on the very spot which on the previous evening had been the seat of comfortable dwellings, flourishg plantations, & thriving trade. Not a house on the island escaped without some injury.

[280] Feast of the birth of the Virgin Mary.

In the evening I walked & had a visit from Mr Cunningham. Spoke about domicil &c.

Mrs M. is poisoned only by eating the mango, though formerly the fruit was innocent to her until she ventured to taste the inside meat of the stone, which poisoned her & since that time, the fruit itself causes her face to swell &c.[281]

September 9.- Nothing remarkable to day. I must note here that last Sunday Evening I witnessed the amusement of kite flying to great advantage. The tops of a great many houses here are flat & afford a good standing or sitting place not only for kite fliers but for such ladies & gentlemen as fancy the spectacle. From the top of Mr John Mason's I counted those around me till I was sure that at least 40 perhaps 50 kites were in the air at once. These are not our formal rectangular newspaper kites with newspaper cues & bobs, but are variously shaped & adorned, of every size, & color, some oblong squares, some hexagons, octagons, &c. generally of white paper, with some painted device, say a sun or a face, or a Death's head, or a quartered circle &c. in the centre; & the tail of the kite is here usually made by stringing together rags or shreds of different colors & with no little taste in arrangement, so that the toy in the air has a very gay appearance, as the kites are not generally raised so high as to have the distinction of colors lost.

The most striking difference however between the amusement here & in New England is that the kite is here a much more active & volatile being, much more bird-like, since it is the object of the flier to manage his kite with dexterity, & to cause its evolutions in the air to be as rapid & varied as possible. He is continually guiding it by jerks of the hand first to right & left, now up, now down, visiting his neighbor's kites, attacking them & now retreating from their attacks.

These attacks are made not exactly as I before described them, but by a knife blade attached somewhere near the end of the tail, which is brought in contact with the string or the tail of another according to the skill of the manager. Severe cuts have

[281] Mango peel, leaves, stems, and sap contain urushiol, the chemical in poison ivy and poison sumac that can induce contact dermatitis in susceptible people, but the seed carries no poison, as it is used as folk medicine and poultry feed. Information provided by Dr. Ángel Román Franco, Department of Pathology, University of Puerto Rico School of Medicine, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

sometimes been suffered from the tail of a kite brought into the street & then suddenly raised & the use of knife blades was at one time prohibited, & very few, perhaps not more than 2 or 3, of all that were abroad this afternoon were thus armed.

I saw one successful attack & heard the shouts & the music that celebrated the downfall of one of the "merchantmen"; & so much does use reconcile to novelties, that as I saw the diversion this afternoon I ceased to consider it so frivolous as I had at first thought it for adults, since they find in it exercise & recreation - & who knows what a second Franklin may discover?[282]

10th September- The consul[283] sent for Captain Earle who arrived on the 6th, & neglected to present himself. According to law he incurs a fine of 500$, but this of course must be only nominally imposed, to ensure obedience.

This evening walked with Mr Cunningham & talked of his partnership &c. &c.

Read in *Don Quijote* some pages of the tale of the *Curioso impertinente* thrown in by Cervantes, & certainly a very singular story.

11 September Finished to day the story of *Curioso impertinente* & upon the whole think it not very well managed, at least not well wound up. Cervantes seems to have become tired of it or sensible of the great difficulty of the subject & so jumped to a conclusion of improbability by improbabilities. But excellent things are said in the course of it.

This afternoon again the kites were like a flock of birds, almost darkening the air, & as Mr Cunningham & self returned from a pleasant stroll outside of the walls, the appearance of these artificial birds hanging with their long tails over the city was a sight as pleasant as curious. A savage would have imagined them alive & a civilized man given to scheming might be led to project uses for such light & governable machines. Why should not the balloon & kite fly to good purpose & carry & tow?

Translated today 6 pages.

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[282] Benjamin Franklin used a kite to demonstrate the electrical nature of lightning.
[283] Mr. Sidney Mason.

The weather is fine, even for Puerto Rico. It is summer still, agreeably freshened by a little more stir in the air of the streets than was observable a few weeks ago. Last year (they tell me that) September was a month of constant rain.

September 12- Nothing remarkable but want of leisure to scribble here.

Sept 13. Took a long walk after dinner and devoted the evening to hearing sundry letters &c., relating to Mr Cunningham's business.

To day arrived an American vessel from Charleston South Carolina, putting in here for waters.

September 14. Again walked with Mr. Cunningham. We have had a sort of day not uncommon here, in point of weather, being at one time gusty & menacing with showers & at another so pleasant & dry & bright that the clouds & wet were hardly to be remembered.

15. September. This morning went in a boat to deliver the note of the Consul to Captain Porter of the *Mary* who went on his way to St. Thomas, without having presented his register, as in duty bound, to the Consul.[284]

After dinner walked, saw gunners shooting outside of the city, at a bird not quite so large as the robin. Mr Mason says peeps & plovers are often found there abouts, & he once shot 27 plovers in one afternoon.

They say a royal mandate has come requiring some reform or new modelling of the regiment of Granada (?) here, in consequence of which, many young officers are to be removed hence to Spain or elsewhere, some willingly, some reluctantly receiving these new orders. (Inquire about this.)[285]

[284] The ship register mentioned here would be the document that attests that the ship sails under the United States flag, and perhaps information on the ship's owner, its crew, and equipment.
[285] See Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 202-204.

16 September. Nothing remarkable occurred to day. Walked after dinner, read Spanish *Don Quijote*, the comparison between scholars & soldiers &c.

17. September- Nothing new. Walked after dinner & read 10 pages *Don Quijote* where I am now upon the story of the *Cautivo*[286] who came with the Moorish lady to the inn where our hero & suite were.

This evening Mr Cunningham related to me the 'dangers he had past' in his first voyage, when the vessel was thrown on her beam ends, tiller broken, masts cut away &a. so that after sailing a few days under some old canvass rigged upon a few oak planks that were at hand, they were all glad to meet with the *Florida*, Captain Tinkham, which took them to New York in 3 days.

September 18. Sunday. Read this morning, in the *Albion*[287] of May I, an interesting extract from "Diary of a London Physician" being the Death of the "Martyr Philosopher".[288] The character is natural. Read also the anecdote of Fox & Burke[289] dividing the band of their friendship, in 1791, on account of their political & parliamentary differences. Waldo used to tell me the story. Mem. too the account of Paganini.[290]

Translated 7 pages of the *Codigo de Comercio*.– After dinner walked with Cunningham; read a few pages of *Don Quijote* & then to bed.

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[286] Spanish - captive.
[287] Possibly *The Albion, or British, Colonial, and Foreign Weekly Gazette*, published in New York City, 1822-1856.
[288] "The Martyr Philosopher" is a chapter in *Passages from the diary of a late physician*, a succession of short stories published in Blackwood Magazine by Samuel Warren (1807-1877), British lawyer (son of a surgeon and who studied medicine for six years), Member of Parliament and novelist. The work was pirated in the United States, which may account for the title *Diary of a London Physician*, if Edward's quote is exact. (available online at http://books.google.com.pr/books?id=ZXAHAQAAIAAJ&pg=PA158&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=4#v=onepage&q&f=false)
[289] Charles James Fox (1749-1806) and Edmund Burke (1729-1797), famous members of the British Parliament.
[290] Niccolò Paganini (1782-1840), Italian violin virtuoso and composer.

September 19.- We have today a cool breeze somewhat like the air of the pleasantest days in this month about Boston, & now a month has passed without a line from home .

September 20. Had a little time today at the compting house for writing a Spanish letter to W.E., & translating a few pages. Walked after dinner & read a little in *Don Quijote*.

But the chief event of the day was the attendance on the funeral of Don Jose Dorado whom I found at Porto Rico so unexpectedly - father in law of Mr Mason, & apparently in better health (though old) than myself & whom I have this afternoon followed to the tomb. The ceremonies in the church where his corpse had been deposited last night, consisted in a sort of chanting intermixed with prayers or masses, which continued from between 4 & 5 till about 6 o'clock P.M. when the bier was borne out of the church by 4 or 6 men & followed by those whose connexion or friendship or curiosity led them to the grave yard where the body was to be laid.

No females attended at any part of the ceremony; No order was observed in the manner of walking, save that the nearest relatives seemed to take their place nearer to the bier than the others; but there was no procession by pairs, & no calling out of names &c.

The deceased was 64 years old.

Mem. Speak hereafter of the grave yard & of sundry expenditures.

Mem also 687$ *gastos de entierro de N. Comas - y 500 por misas*.[291]

21 Received 4 letters from home, 2 from W.E., 1 from Mother & 1 from C.C.E – Welcome - these striking likenesses of absent friends - these speaking statues. I returned to day to Mr Sidney Mason's.

22 September. Nothing new today. have some black marks against myself — none against others.- Mr Cunningham read newspapers this evening.- W. Whiting & J.

[291] Spanish - burial expenses of N. Comas and 500 for masses (for the repose of the deceased's soul).

Harrington are among the successful boys at college. Editors talk very loudly & metaphor crowds upon metaphor to promise war & confusion in Europe.

23d September - Nothing remarkable occurred

24. September. It was noticed as a rare occurrence here that we had a north wind this afternoon. The same brought up a very heavy swell of the sea, such that the launches as they are termed, (long & large boats used for transporting sugar & molasses &c in hogsheads,) could not come from Paloseco.[292]

25th. September Sunday. To day there was a sort of festival held at Congreva(?)a few miles from the city, & thither went many of all classes, to ride, to dance, to hear a sermon, to play, revel &c in celebration of St Matthew's day.[293] In different parts of the same church, (& at different hours of course) sermon & the dance occurred.

September 26.- We have had a fine air to day & this week the little packet will begin its trips to St Thomas. The equinox being passed, I suppose men take courage about the weather & don't fear hurricanes so much.

Sugars of the last crop are said to be still very plenty at from 2 to 3¢ the pound. Coffee is to come now between this and January & the planters & the speculators are holding high heads & close hands hoping to get at least 10¢ a pound on the opening of their market. The duty on the export of sugar just at the moment when the shipments had been in great part made was reduced from 24 to 18¢ the hundred pounds, & that on coffee which is soon to be exported, raised from 48 to 59¢(?).

September 27. To day wrote letter to C.C.E & copied that to W.E. & scribbled diligently. The schooner *St Thomas* sailed.- The *Correo* arrived from Spain. Walked but a little on account of showers - Read some in *Don Quijote* finishing the tale of the 'Captive'. Mr Cunningham read aloud an account (in *Albion* of April 16) of that remarkable man,

[292] Correctly, Palo Seco, across the bay from San Juan.
[293] Correctly, Cangrejos, now called Santurce and a sector of San Juan. St. Mathew is its patron saint.

Defoe, whom we must put down it seems as one of the greatest of authors, if not of men. He wrote upwards of 200 volumes & one of these at least is famous & would not be "willingly let die".

28. September. It is said the *Correo* brings news of peace in Europe - May it always bring such good tidings, & may men be wise enough to have great joy & not grumble at the want of a market for their sugar &c.

Sept 29. This day we had a thunder shower, after which the air was tranquil & though warm not oppressive.

I saw a violent battle between a negro in a canoe & a cook of a vessel close by, who taking offence from words went to blows, & availed himself of the utensils of his profession, throwing the same even to the teakettle against his dusky antagonist. Mr Mason & others succeeded in parting the combatants, before the arrival of some other negroes who were hastening to aid their countryman, & might have done harm with their short swords.

These latter instruments are strangely enough allowed to be put in the hands of the blacks & are very commonly seen, especially in the country where they seem to be worn as jackknives are by sailors for all sorts of uses. Yet the law makes a negro lose his hand if he raise it against a white man.

September 30- Nothing remarkable- Wrote, read, & walked.

October 1831

October 1. - Today powder was put to work & reminded us that 8 years ago today Ferdinand VII was restored to his dominion over Spain.[294] The cannonading was repeated at sunset.

[294] Restored to absolute power after the constitucional period of 1820-1823, see Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 196.

I heard it however from the distance of some miles, being on the way in a boat with Mr Sidney Mason to the country. We found horses ready & had a pleasant ride, while crickets & the whole of the insect choir were singing & hissing merrily on all sides. At Santa Barbara, we found that some animals were not bashful about entering the house. Cockroaches crept about & a bat flew back & forth occasionally in the room.

October 2. Sunday. Passed this Sabbath at Santa Barbara. Rowed over to Ysleta. Saw the sensitive plant at least 2 feet high & abundant. Read Sir J. M^{c}I. and Peel's speeches about Reform bill.[295] Returned to the city in the evening.

October 3^{d}- To day we had a sloop from St Thomas bringing letters from U.S. to 27 August & to me W.E.'s of 23 & 2 July & C.C.E's of 8 April (about J. Jackson, Mr Wirt's Speech[296]) &c- which according to his wish I have destroyed.

To night being the vespers of St Francis day[297] - the church & convent of San Francisco attracted the devout & the curious. The outside of the building which is extensive & somewhat picturesque & monastical in appearance has been recently made more neat by a thorough whitewashing. On the occasion of this festival it has been very tastefully decorated within & the eye forgot to discern the motes of the tinsel in admiring the *tout ensemble*[298] of the arrangement & colors with which the altar was adorned. A hundred or two of elegant wax candles beside many lamps lighted the church & I suppose hundreds of ladies & girls & negroes kneeling from the altar all the way to the opposite door made the scene one of great beauty & interest.

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[295] The British Reform Act of 1832 broadened the franchise for electors to Parliament and redistributed power on the basis of population, from the landed aristocracy to the urban middle classes. The manuscript appears to say "Sir J. M^{r}G." but it most likely refers to "Sir J. M^{c}I." or Sir James Mackintosh, a liberal Member of Parliament, and supporter of the Reform Bill (also mentioned in Appendix I, see note 19). Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850) was a conservative Member of Parliament and later prime minister on two occasions.

[296] Wirt, William (1772-1834), Attorney General of the United States (1817-1829) and defender of the rights of the Cherokee before the Supreme Court in 1830-1832.

[297] St. Francis of Assisi.

[298] French – all together. The Franciscan church and convent (converted to a military barracks by the Spanish government) were demolished in 1917. Many of the principal paintings in the church were by José Campeche, and are now part of the art collection of the Archdiocese of San Juan. They are presented in Arturo Dávila. *Campeche: mito y realidad*. San Juan: Museo de Arte de Puerto Rico, 2010: 192-203.

The perfect order preserved, the entire gravity & decorum of the worshippers - apparently pleased with the very tranquillity which they were preserving - & perhaps not unaffected by the religious feelings, nor wholly inattentive to the forms that were passing of prayer or mass, the neatness & even elegance of the general costume of the females who wore either white or black veils thrown back from the face & falling gracefully from a high comb down the neck & shoulders, the direction of their eyes towards the high altar before which the priests in rich dresses were officiating also on their knees - while at each side stood two full length images of the Saints Francis & Domingo (brothers)[299] in robes of ceremony = all this spectacle added to the sound of fine music, gave a more favorable idea of the Catholic rites & people than is usually presented.

It was not an unpleasant circumstance that the dark face of an African or the yellow features of a mulatto were seen frequently intermingled with the whitest of the fair, & not the slightest symptom of uneasiness exhibited on account of the proximity. We like to see the supremacy of the heart acknowledged in the temporary suspension of external distinctions, & the evidence of a humility which if real renders those distinctions, as before the Divinity, nothing less than nothing in the distance at which both stand from him they adore.

October 4 Nothing particular occurred in my walk of life on this day of St Francis - I believe there was a sermon - & those who claim St Francisco de Asís, as their patron saint celebrated the day - but it was not a general (or ++) holiday.

October 5. Nothing remarkable but the observation of the very gradual improvement of the air which as compared with that of August & July is certainly somewhat freshened, though, it is still high summer by the thermometer & by men's feelings & our dress not yet to be changed. A blanket at night or a thick coat or pantaloons by day would be to me uncomfortable, & I spunge the whole body at least once & partially twice in the 24 hours.

[299] Sts. Francis and Domingo (Dominic) were not brothers; it is not clear whether Emerson refers to a spiritual kinship.

I walked as usual with friend Cunningham, after dinner & then read *Don Quijote* &c till bed-time.

October 6. - A pleasant day passed in the usual way. Captain Tilden went to St Thomas.

October 7. Another pleasant day.

The troops I hear were reviewed to day & might have been seen in the Square after dinner, say 500 of them. This review is usual on the 7th of the month, though omitted during certain months from I know not what motive of timidity about weather or some other pretence.

This evening at 8' o clock the *ritreta* was accompanied by the band, which parted from the guard at the plaza de St Iago (or *plazuela*, or *prado*, for it has all 3 names)[300] in front of the *Coliseo* or theatre & there played several tunes to the great gratification of who had come there to listen & who either sat or walked around them. The band stood in a circle, around a lantern borne in the evenings in lieu of a standard, certainly much more useful, & in this case quite as ornamental. It is a transparent globe or rather globular octaedron having on each of its eight faces a painting, alternately 1. the Arms of Spain & 2 a device of two flags &c perhaps peculiar to the Regiment & 3 another peculiar to the Island showing a crown & two hemispheres & other emblems, with the words *El rey á la fidelidad de la isla de Puerto rico*. Around the lower rim of the lantern is printed *Regimiento de Granada Expedicionar, 15. de Linea*.[301]

October 8- The morning was <u>positively</u> cool — not cold. After a warm day (& an early dinner at a few minutes after 4.) Mr Mason invited me again to a seat in his boat & we went out to Santa Barbara stopping as usual at Cataña & taking horses thence to the estate. Here we passed the night &

[300] The open space in the city before the guard house of the land gate (Puerta de Tierra) was named after St. James (Santiago) and described by any of three terms - plaza (square), plazuela (small square), prado (field, lawn). It is now Plaza Colón.
[301] Spanish (should say *Expedicionario*) – Regiment of Granada, Expeditionary, 15th of the Line.

October 9th Rode over to Ysleta before breakfast, & talked with Mr Watlington & Capt Bedlow. This latter gentleman is purchaser of the right of disposing in the West Indies of a newly invented liquid, to supply the place of oil for lamps &c. Its advantages consist in its affording a clearer & pleasanter light, (smelling slightly of spirits or turpentine) & being prepared chiefly from rum of a very high proof. The expense being found to be no greater than that of oil is of course less than that of gas - which it has to compete with as a means of lighting streets &c. - & its composition should it be adopted generally in these islands would afford a vent for one of their staple products. Two hogsheads of rum of the proper strength serve to make one hogshead of the liquid preparation (I believe) (?) & a bottle costing 15¢ was found to supply 2 small lamps for 4 nights, from 7 till 12 or thereabouts.

In the use of this substitute for oil a wick may be employed or a tube without wick in which latter case a gas issues upon the application of a flame to the mouth of the tube after the heat has acted for a little time say 2 minutes upon the orifice; this gas catches & continues to burn without interruption till the last drop of liquor is exhausted. In both cases the lamps must be made air tight excepting the tube for the gas or wick.

The Governor referred the proprietor of this right to a committee selected from his council & the chief men of the place who examined his lights & questioned him as to his price for communicating the secret of the sition (sic) of the liquid. Captain Bedlow offered to accept 6 000$ maq°.[302] for the disclosure & liberty to use the same in the island. The committee are to confer with the Governor but seem disposed to accede to his terms, & to have the expense defrayed by the continuance of a duty now levied but that was about to be abolished on certain imported liquors.[303]

[302] maq°, abbreviation of *macuquino* - the local, debased coin.
[303] Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 212-218, refers to Guillermo Belaud, and indicates 6,000$ as the price for the purchase of the secret, which was divulged to the public, as agreed with the seller, two months later (*Gaceta* 31 December 1831: 249-252). *Ron de alumbrar* ("rum for lighting") was sold in stores for 2 reales a bottle (plus the return of an empty bottle), as advertised in the *Gaceta*, 11, 13, 18, 20 July 1833 (pages 332, 336, 344,348, respectively).

October 10- A cool morning & day & evening the last particularly pure & glorious in its sky & moon & stars, all which should be journalized by a poet, so brilliant & lovely were the colors & the lustre of the same.

Friend Cunningham & self read *Don Quijote* & *Grammar* as usual in the evening.

October 11.- Nothing remarkable on this pleasant day. I read part of Rush's letter about Masonry & think him an able writer with a plausible topic.[304]

In evening read *Don Quijote* &c. Cervantes sets forth well the advantages which the novelist enjoys in the breadth of his field & opportunity of interweaving all varieties of knowledge & style. This he does by making the *Canonigo*[305] discuss the point in conversation with the *Cura*[306] when the latter had related to him the cause of Quixote's madness.

12th October.- To day I received an excellent letter from R.W.E. & a very pleasant compliment from classmate Barlow & his pretty wife. May Heaven bless the boy. - May he be happy & wise; inherit the father's force, the mother's beauty, if not a fatal gift & have a place among the good & the useful here & in a brighter world.

Had a letter from Wm- referring to a longer.

Walked & talked with Cunningham & read more of Cervantes who shows himself now as a critic & a man in his comments on comedy &c.[307]

A vessel, the *Fortunato*, once *Octavia* (but now *Espanolizado*)[308] arrived from Boston to day, as well as two sloops from St. Thomas. Kortright came over in one & says he left no masts in Sta Cruz harbor & 80 vessels in St. Thomas.

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[304] Rush, Richard (1780-1859), US Attorney General, 1814-1817, and Secretary of the Treasury, 1825-1829. *A letter on freemasonry [...] to the citizens of York County, Pennsylvania.* Boston: J. March, 1831. President Jackson and many politicians in Albany, New York, were masons, and the disappearance of a renegade member of the Masonic Order in western New York state provoked allegations of a conspiracy. The anti-Masonic movement merged with Jackson's opposition and eventually joined the Whig party; see Parsons, Lynn Hudson. *The birth of modern politics: Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and the Election of 1828.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2009: 178-179, 195.

[305] Spanish - canon.

[306] Spanish - curate, priest.

[307] This is Edward's last journal comment on *Don Quijote*, on chapter 48, almost at the end of Part I.

[308] Spanish (correctly, español*i*zado) - made Spanish.

13 October. To day was enlivened by a cool & balmy breeze which brought in a schooner & a brig (the *Heroine*) from St Thomas; & again I was favored with glad tidings from good old friends having a letter from William from Mother & from Grandfather Ripley, all agreeable for what they said & what they left unsaid. A letter is a compliment & a long letter a great one which either through vanity or common sense or natural feeling I most cordially welcome & gratefully acknowledge.

What an excellent old man is that Dr Ripley. What an example — what an ornament in the social system is such a minister! What an argument his life What [blank in manuscript]

My mother too what a collection of the virtues that dignify & grace women she has gathered in the rough & gloomy paths through which she has been led while she leaned on an Almighty arm.

& of my brother W^{m}. I may say he is one of those firm friends who adds to constancy diligence & is mindful of those who are out of sight.

To night I went to see the *Moro*[309] fortification, by Colonel Flinter's politeness. It is neat & apparently strong both for attack & defence. Some 400 men are stationed there & above 200 cannon mounted. I did not go down to the lower batteries, at which I only peeped through some arched passages that led to them, or over the walls of batteries that were above.

About 1200 soldiers are all in the city. - These, Colonel Flinter says, are in fact rather overworked than idle, half being on guard duty constantly & of course every soldier coming on every other day, while upon the days when they are not on guard there is a great deal of what is termed fatigue duty, cutting wood &c.&c.

After visiting the *Moro*, I went to Colonel Flinter's room & heard some of the introduction to his work & some passages about the colored population here the peaceable state of the island &c.

[309] Correctly, Morro.

October 14. To day was delightful as to weather & easy as to its occupations. I have a supply of newspapers that may furnish me with reading for many leisure hours. After dinner walked &c as usual.

October 15. *Catalina* from Baltimore arrived this morning.

Learned how to apportion the expenses of an account sales to the several vessels to which the merchandise belonged &c.

After dinner friend Cunningham brought me a new parcel of letters & papers from Boston. Mother & Waldo both look heavenward, but with a diversity of views suited to their peculiarities of thought & feeling. Mother has sent me Thomas a Kempis, a gift very welcome, for it has been always in my ears & never in my hand or library before.[310]

Mr Cunningham & self begun the book after we had taken our usual walk.

October 16- Sunday. Cunningham & I walked out of the city to the bridge, returned by 7½.

I read over Chalmer's Introduction to Kempis – thought it diffuse, & relish better Kempis's style.

October 17. Nothing remembered as very noticeable to day.

October 18. Our air continues to grow more refreshing. I scribbled Spanish today in a letter to W.E.

Mem. the Government here finally bought Mr Bedlow's secret for 6 000 maq^{o}.$ to be paid down to him, & to be refunded by duties &c.

October 19. Was weak in body to day - so worked but moderately. Brig *Eagle* arrived from St. Thomas, to load for New York.

[310] Kempis, Thomas á (1380-1471), *The imitation of Christ*; introductory essay by Thomas Chalmers. Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1832.

October 20 Nothing very noticeable to day. In evening music (the *ritreta*). Read a little in *History of Porto Rico*[311] about the original inhabitants.

October 21. Came in American Brig from La guaira, with cocoa[312] & indigo (*añil*), some 1700 fanegas of former & say 140 *zurones*[313] of latter.

I passed the day in the usual place, but had much time to myself for Spanish.

October 22. A pleasant day. Mr Sidney Mason's birthday *aet.* 31. He has been active in building his fortune: I hope he will not let his habits of business strangle his capacity or destroy his health, or canker his soul. He does not seem to me so happy as I could wish.

October 23. Sunday. This morning I walked.

I saw two opossums alive on board of the *Catalina* which brought them from Chesapeak Bay. This animal has the faculty of hanging by its tail which it twisted about my finger for the purpose. They eat by night & pass the day sleeping for the most part. They are about as large i.e. (these which are quite young say a few months old) as cats. Their flesh is very delicate food & the fat said to be so peculiar as not to offend the most delicate stomach.

I note now least I forget it, that last Sunday evening, as Mr Cunningham & self returned from the *plazuela* where we had been listening to the band, the sentinel by the wall called to us *quién vive?* Cunningham answered *España. Que gente?*, said the sentry, *Gente de paz* said I, and he muttered something that we could not comprehend.[314] This was the first time I have heard a passenger accosted thus, though it is continually occurring. My early hours of retiring & sound sleep at night has prevented my hearing any thing else from the sentinels except their cry to one

[311] By Íñigo Abbad.
[312] Presumably the cocoa of chocolate, a regular import item from Venezuela, not coconuts.
[313] Spanish - *zurrones* - leather bags.
[314] Spanish - Who's there? Spain. What people? People of peace.

another, & that I never distinguished till it was explained to me. One says *Centinela* & the next answers *Alerta* I believe.[315]

October 24. Nothing occurred to distinguish this among the other few & - days of the years of my life.

October 25. Rose early & walking out was attracted by the light shining from a lower room, which I found occupied by the corpse of a woman lately dead & laid out in some state with 4 lights burning around. Her widowed husband & other attendants were keeping watch & the passers by stopped to gaze at the show.[316]

October 26 I remember nothing remarkable.

October 27. The *Eagle* left us for New York this afternoon, & we are busy dispatching the *Heroine* for Genoa.

October 28 This afternoon sailed the Brig *Heroine* with 230 casks sugar - laid in at 2, 2½ & 3¢ per pound, freight to be 5£ sterling per ton 2240 pounds. Capt Tilden has pleased us all by his perpetual good humor & even & amiable deportment. I wish there were more of our sea captains whose lips & lives were as pure as his appear to be.

A schooner *Evan T. Ellicott* arrived this day from New York - 16 days, said to come for coffee; but coffee has not come to market yet, the crop though good being late & the holders rather tenacious withal, thinking from news of disasters in Cuba & St Domingo & from prospects of good prices in U.S. that they had better hold back for large offers &c.

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[315] Spanish - Sentinel; Alert.

[316] From 25 to 31 October 1831, the only burial of a married woman registered at the San Juan parish records (AHASJ, PC, Entierros, libro 28, 1831-1834, folios 39-39v.) corresponds to "Doña" María del Pilar Togores, buried on 25 October, native of San Juan, age 33 years, wife of "Don" Calisto Romero and mother of a son, Calisto.

October 29. A busy but a pleasant day was passed at Compting room without an unoccupied quarter of an hour; I might almost say a leisure minute. Walked after dinner.

October 30 Sunday. Wrote letter to Dr R & R.W.E read & walked. 3 American vesels arrived.

Letter to Ezra Ripley in Concord[317]

St Johns, Porto Rico, October 30. 1831.

My dear & honored Sir,

I thank you for your very kind letter; itself a compliment as coming from you to me, to say nothing of the affectionate language & the encouragement that filled it. As to what you have said in it about the matter of seclusion from society &c. you will not wonder that I subscribe to your doctrine, when you recollect how long I had the pleasure of seeing it practised not a thousand miles from your own dwelling. I must however say, in justice to Hermit Low, (whom you seem to suspect of <u>avarice</u>,) that I don't know that any treasures of money are at his command, & I intended to mention in my account of him nothing else about his wealth, than that he had the right of being maintained on the spot he occupies. Upon the main question of commerce with society or retirement, it seems to me that while on earth, a man in common cases, has no more the right than he has the power, to make himself a little solitary heaven beforehand, if I may use the expression. What right has he to please himself with the notion that he is devoting his life to godliness when he is only taking his ease by shunning the worldly? How shall he boast of resisting temptation, who is only fleeing from the devil, instead of putting him to flight?

You are aware I suppose that this island like a docile child follows the mother country, & rests in the bosom of the Catholic Church. There are two Convents with churches attached to them & two other churches of considerable size, beside one or two small chapels. In all of these mass & bell & latin & images are found instead of stirring eloquence. I am told that during Lent some sermons will be preached, when I shall get a chance perhaps of being rebuked & warned. At present my Sundays are indeed days of

[317] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (259).

rest; & I confess that I often enjoy the repose & liberty that offers itself here to one from whom no conformity is expected & upon whose conduct not a censorious remark is to be feared, so much that I forget to regret that I am not going to take my seat in the congregation.

Every man may learn some thing from every other man, & perhaps every sect much from every other sect. While the Catholics of St Johns might learn in New England to show their respect for the Sabbath by a more general suspension of labor & traffic than is here observed, I think the religionists of the north might also learn in Porto Rico the advantage of admitting relaxation & some amusement to enter into their holy time. Some men here fatigue themselves with secular business or riotous pastime; & some of the Christians of New England do so labor to be, to do, & to suffer good, on the Sabbath, that they certainly fail to obey the commandment "to do no manner of work." If we could exclude cock fighting, house scouring, occasional drunken frolics, some labor in the country required during the mornings, & much of the marketing & shop keeping carried on in the city from the Sundays here, & if on the other hand the third & fourth services, or lectures, the prohibitions laid, by custom or precept, upon innocent diversion or pleasant conversation & the mint & cummin[318] of excessive sobriety which is not seldom exacted at the expense of the good temper & comfort of our youth, could be removed from the New England Sunday—the Sabbath might be better used & valued in both places. You remember, Sir, you always allowed me to talk & so will excuse my meddling in such high matters, as the right & wrong observance of ordinances.

At another time when I have a fresh sheet I will give you some account of one or two of the ceremonies which I have witnessed here. I learn from mother's letter that Major Burr is dead & it makes me recollect his apparently firm health in years past of another instance of the oak's breaking before the reed. I am glad to hear of your continued health & ability to preach. May each new year be more happy, & each step on the ladder from earth to heaven be more easy, is the sincere wish of your obliged

& affectionate grandson

[318] Reference to gospel of Mathew, 23: 23 - "ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith".

Edward.

I will not say this is a postscript, for it is as important as any part of my letter. I beg that my respects may be given to your brother & niece, & to my kind friends at Waltham. I shall soon be asking when Gore & Ezra will enter College. I would desire you would remember me to your friend Mr Hoar, & to any who chance to think of me in a place which though I may never revisit, I shall never forget. I noticed Whiting's success in some newspaper, I mean some college plume in his cap, which I hope he wears well.

Your affectionate grandson E.

31 October. After passing day as usual went out into the country with Mr Mason & Mr Cunningham. Rode double to the Estate. Supped - chatted - slept & awoke on

November 1831

1 November long before day break. Counted 7 stars in the Pleiades & grew impatient for sunrise. Before breakfast rode to Ysleta Estate. After breakfast saw the negroes receive their clothing of a stuff called bamboo (why I don't know, for it seems to be a common coarse woolen fabric).[319] The men received theirs with apparent contentment. When the women came in, one who was quite tall & with the exception of that single advantage remarkably ugly walked directly to a large looking glass before which she stood with signs of gratified curiosity or vanity beckoning to her companions to join her in the survey of her figure, before she entered the room where their master distributed the clothing.

After dinner we returned to town where we heard that on the preceding night or before sunrise of this morning my room had been entered & the chief part of my clothing, black white & grey, taken off, a piece of news which proved true, - & I must learn to limit myself a little more to the necessaries of raiment for a time. How few things we need; how many we learn to think important to good living.

[319] The term is not known to have been used in Puerto Rico with that meaning, but in St. Croix it referred to a coarse woollen cloth given to slaves, used for coats or capes; see Jensen, *For the health*, 147.

November 2, & 3, & 4 passed with so much else to scribble or do or suffer, (for I was attacked in those days with the influenza here bringing catarrh & headach &c-) that I remember nothing worth recording.

Mr Mason printed some handbills & offered reward for detection of the robbers of my clothes.

November 5. To day I was told to present myself before an *Escribano*[320] (Don - - Serrano) to give answers upon oath about the robbery &c. I was kept from 6¼ P.M till 10 PM. in the apartment of the *ayudante* or *alferez*[321] (for both these titles have been applied to him) while he questioned me on all important points. Several of the articles stolen have been recovered & were shown me for recognition. Joaquin Ezquiaga was sworn to interpret, that no mistake might occur from difficulty of explanation &c. It is said that soldiers are the guilty ones & that they are more likely to suffer a severe punishment than others.

Sunday - November 6 - I spent chiefly in curing the body.

For a half hour or so I was called upon to be present again at Serrano's on account of some further discovery that has been made of the stolen apparel. The measures taken by the authorities in this case are very particular examinations by interrogatories, & each question & answer are written down so that already some 30 or 40 pages are filled. Each deponent signs his deposition (called I think *diligencia*).

Monday November 7. To day the Governor set out again on his tour or visit round the island, having been obliged to return after his first departure, on account of child's sickness.

Heavy thunder came very near us but passed without blasting us or our dwellings.

[320] Spanish - court clerk.
[321] Spanish - assistant; standard-bearer (maybe the official was also a military officer)

Tuesday- November 8.- To day we have had a soaking rain. Our streets were but channels for rivers. Some women I saw with the thin bark or husky leaf of the palm tree placed on their heads as an umbrella while they were wading through the shallowest water they could find in the street.

I played a game of chess after dinner & beat though without pursuing a plan.

Wednesday Another rainy day. A Brig arrived from Cadiz.- Little business. I read over a manuscript containing rules & examples of bookkeeping. After dinner slept some three hours & then read a chapter in A Kempis.

10 November. A fine dry breeze. The rain of the 8th & of the night previous filled the cistern of Mr Mason's, containing 175 *bocoyes* or hogsheads.

To day came in a brig from St Thomas, the *Telemaco*, belonging to the rich Manuel Antonio Heredia (I believe a Malaga merchant).

11.th November Came in the Schooner *Halcyon* in 12 days from Baltimore. The cargo it was necessary to sell for a song (as the saying is) as the market is now stocked with American produce. The Flour just pays its way & some things do not that.

12th. November To day I wrote letters for home having much leisure in the Compting room.

13th November Sunday.- Walked in the morning – read – wrote part of letter to Barlow – dined at John Mason's – walked with Cunningham.

14th November – To day read Spanish Grammar – walked.

Two vessels came in. A Spanish brig bringing the second in command of the Island of Cuba (General --) & an American Brig from New York (from Aymar's house.)

The soldiers were out on the green to night performing the manual, their first appearance for some months.

15th November Nothing remarkable

16th. November A most lovely day, such as to make a man laugh to think of the name given in the North to 'Bleak November'.

Carried letter to Aranzamendi from Barnard Adams & Co.

Schooner *Eliza* from Providence 27 days arrived.

17 November. Another most perfect day.

I looked over a pamphlet containing account of the Commercial Tribunal here called the *Consulado*, & like the nature of the institution much. I bought the pamphlet for Mr Mason as Consul in order to send the same to the U.S with some other publications agreeably to a request in a circular from the Secretary Treasury U.S. desiring information about the commercial laws & actual state of commerce &c. with a view to preparation of a great digest of commercial law.

Schooner *Union* arrived from Philadelphia via St. Thomas & I had a letter from Waldo announcing a sudden affliction in our family – the sickness of Charles. Ah

"Who the fool that doth not know
How youth & beauty come & go
And how disease & pain & sorrow
May chance to day, may chance tomorrow
Unto the merriest of us all —[322]

But Charles[,] says Waldo[,] acts like a Christian & philosopher, & shall not his friends bear the blow as meekly & bravely as the sufferer. I hope that the chastisement will not be unto death unless this be wishing ill to the much loved youth.

As I walked out after the news & saw the assembled gentry & the ladies of Porto Rico in the *Plazuela* sitting on stone seats or walking about, the females without bonnets & some with flowers in their hair, listening to the music of the *ritreta* under

[322] Byron. The quote appears, with "bloom" instead of "youth", in RWE's Journal, 1845, entry [96], http://books.google.com.pr/books?id=wm9qCvfN_YEC&pg=PA227&lpg=PA227&dq=%22who+the+fool+that+doth+not+know%22&source=bl&ots=pXmMUjKYea&sig=Z9RqDmyN_v0DQ7jzq_cIKFpkiDg&hl=es&ei=Eh1VTfvVDIqitgeR4OSMDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CBEQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22who%20the%20fool%20that%20doth%20not%20know%22&f=false

the bright moon lit sky & thought of the harsh air of Boston at this date, I could not doubt of the propriety of sending all such invalids as C.C.E to recover here. It is a medicine of such a generous & pleasant as well as potent nature the passage from a cold to a warm atmosphere, that if the system be not rotten & totally unstrung, restoration appears to be probable.

18th November I rose early & read a little in A Kempis whose current of thought if it be a little too much colored with black from the channel of the monastery through which it flowed has yet the odor of eternal virtue & of Christian benevolence, so that the water is sweet & may be very wholesome.

To day arrived the *Superior* from Philadelphia.

I spent most of the day in Custom House copying regulations of this as a port of Deposit.

19th. November Mem. that coffee is now bought here at different prices from 8 a[323] 11¢ from the *Iberos* who bring it to the city; a "gratification" also is given to the peon.

To day received letter from S. Bradford & introduction of Isaac C. Jackson, a gentleman who has travelled much & is companionable & polite, now here as supercargo of Schooner *Superior*, at the same time that he is to transact some business for U.S. government in St Thomas, (says Captain W.) We walked out of the city – talked of Italy, Switzerland, &c. & of Newburyport where Jackson was born.

Returned to hear Cunningham read A Kempis.

Sunday November 20 Rose early & took a walk round the city & read some entertaining matter in the *Philadelphia Chronicles* that S. Bradford sent.

An American Schooner arrived from Wilmington North Carolina. Captain Thomas says 7 negroes were to be hung the day after he left for revolt &c - that the militia are constantly on guard; that the prices of all articles requiring negro-labor

[323] Spanish - to. He gives the entire phrase for the price range in Spanish.

have risen (e.g. shingles formerly bought at 1.60 now cost 3$ per M.[324] I hope this cloud will pass from the sky of my country; that God will raise some greater than Franklin who will divert the electric fluid before it accumulate & burst with fatal & consuming force. An intestine war raised by irritated slaves would be sad enough. But it will not come yet.

Warsaw too is taken & Russia triumphant.

Monday November 21 - A busy day at the compting room was closed by an Evening walk &c with Cunningham.

Tuesday – 22d November - A busy & pleasant day. The *Union* sailed with Cunningham on board, & now I am left alone & so much have I been accustomed to Cunningham's company that though he was but a small talker I see that his absence will make a great change in my condition here. Perhaps I shall read more.

23 November Busy at the compting room.

Walked after dinner with Mr Jackson, visited the new seminary yet incomplete, but appearing as if intended to be a solid & a handsome edifice - looked into a couple of the churches.[325]

Mem. last evening saw boys with lanterns accompanying a priest who repeated some form to which they shouted their responses with more noise than solemnity. There were perhaps two dozen & they formed a line on either side of the street while the cross was borne in the middle. The ceremony is called *Rosario de las animas*.[326]

24 November. Various scribblings filled up the day. I walked alone after dinner. How many men we see & how few we know to the bottom of their characters. Perhaps none is all dross, & probably none all gold.

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[324] Shingles were sold by the thousand, so he probably meant the Roman numeral "M" without the double strike-through, which would make it mean a million or a thousand million.
[325] The opening of the Seminario Conciliar was announced on 2 July 1832 and classes started on 12 October; Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 297, Cruz Monclova, *Historia*, 266.
[326] Spanish - Rosary for the souls [in Purgatory].

25 November Nothing is remembered as distinguishing this day.

26 November- Wrote to New York by Brig *Packet*. A windy day & a cool one but not unpleasant. So Charles is better, but he might do better still to come hither, & warm himself by nature's fires.

27 November Sunday. I rose early & went to the country with Mr Mason. The air & breeze were such as men & sailors like & we were at Santa Barbara at 1/2 past 7. Rode to Ysleta after breakfast.

On return to the city, found that the *Correo* from Cadiz & that from Havana had arrived.

28. To day the Schooner *St Thomas* arrived from Gloucester via St Thomas. A pleasant letter from W^{m}.

Mr Hoope & other passengers from St. Thomas. Mr Hoope brings news of Mr Roger's loss & danger in the wreck of the *Carlo*; rumors of recapture of Warsaw; of English transferring their funds to U.S. for safety anticipating revolution &c at home, in event of defeat of Reform Bill.

How we sit in the West on the shore & see the "ships tost at sea" as Bacon says.

29 November - Nothing remarkable today save that I ought to note that the effect of the laws conferring a sort of privilege of equality on the free colored inhabitants of St Croix & St Thomas is reported to have led to instances of considerable arrogance & impertinence on the part of some of the said class.

Another observation may be made to day, that on eating the famous vegetable procured from the top of the palmetto or mountain cabbage tree I think it by no means so delicious as to make it worth while to destroy a tree for the sake of so small a part of it as becomes edible, say perhaps enough for half a dozen dishes of this vegetable which resembles cabbage. The specimen I saw on table & partook of was

said to be a poor one on account of its dressing or some other cause, but it was in my opinion not equal to avocado pear or the best plantains or *berengenos*,[327] &c. &c.

30th November - Last night Mr L- knocked at my door after midnight to wake up Mr Mason for medicine for a sick child.

About 1/4 past 2 came another knocking, who in answer to *quien es*[328] addressed me as Don Eduardo. I found it was the *escribano* & sergeant who officiates as clerk to Don Antonio Serrano, & he came with a message requiring me without fail to present myself & interpreter at the house of the *ayudante* at 7 this morning to receive those articles [of] my clothing which I had before seen & identified as the same stolen &c. Why this hour was taken for such an errand I cannot guess, unless it were for the convenience of Mr Sergeant. However I was glad to find my nocturnal visitors so pacific in their intentions.

Went to the *Ayudante*'s & received from him the articles of apparel before mentioned, being perhaps 1/4 in value of all lost, or somewhat less.

At compting room studied a little grammar & wrote a couple of short letters.

After dinner took a short walk, arranged room & read the newspaper.

Tomorrow is the first day of winter in the climate of my friends & here we have been as warm today as often in August there.

Coffee is still bought at 11¢ & upwards to 11½ for the single shell, though it comes in plenty.

A dozen American vessels have arrived here in this month.

Twas said in conversation to day that the Spanish regiments were composed of grenadiers fusiliers & *cazadores*[329] - the latter being sharpshooters employed to go out upon hills &c & pick out the enemy like our riflemen, the grenadiers to form the two wings of the army & the fusiliers I take it to be led on to the attack &c., the last being allowed no bayonets.(?)

Given out of the things returned to me after the robbery to be washed. &c.

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[327] Spanish - *berenjenas* - eggplants, aubergines.
[328] Spanish - Who is it?
[329] Spanish - hunters.

1 shirt [marked?] EBE 4.

1 flannel[330] vest [marked?] Emerson

1 knit vest

1 pair socks slate colored

1 pair flannel drawers

1 cotton jacket

Letter to Charles Chauncy Emerson in Boston[331]

Porto R. November 30. 1831.

Dear C.

I give you the *parabien*[332] on your mended health; but I say tread softly & whisper as the French old man advised when you speak of your recovery lest the dark angel overhear & revisit you—& have a care how you talk of being 'menaced' with so soft a remedy, so light a rod, as that visit to St Croix or as it should be Porto Rico. I am glad to see your friend Lyman has so well attended to the printing matter. You could not have selected a more apt epithet than you repeatedly apply to a certain candidate for fame even had you known him. He thinks of a visit to the U.S. one of these days & you may smile at some of the saccharine ingredients of this all-complaisant Colonel—against whom I will & ought to say nothing except that he is too much influenced by his situation & desire of keeping favor, to be so impartial an author as I should wish to see employed in the description of Porto Rico.[333] However who knows how much a man should seek his own peace, who knows how much a man should strive to smooth over the ills that the governed are so ready to tear up & magnify—& thus promote the common peace? Who knows how much it is fault & how much it is misfortune & blindness in the favored to praise the hand that holds out to them patronage & support?

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[330] Manuscript says "fl".

[331] MH bMS Am 1280.220 (57).

[332] Spanish - congratulations; literally, "[may it be] to [your] benefit".

[333] These sentences refer to Joseph Lyman's requests for proposals from printers on the costs of publishing a work by Col. George Flinter. Charles called him "sweet Col. Flinter" in a letter to Edward from Boston, 28 October 1831, MH bMS Am 1280.226 (11). The estimates, probably originally enclosed with that letter, are at Houghton Library, MH bMS Am 1280.235 (351), and the costs per 96 pages for 500 copies ranged from $116 to $150. Flinter's books were eventually published in Philadelphia, New York, and London.

I have told William that I wanted some of your Spanish books, thinking that perhaps you had fled from New England hitherward. You will do as you please about lending them. I have received an excellent letter from Aunt Mary. Such are not merely refreshment, they are alms, & medicines to the receiver. I suppose I should hear if aught of weal or woe extraordinary befel our relations of the Waterford Stock. My love to such as you meet of them. I have nothing to add now & may not; so

Goodbye— Yours, Edw[d]

December 1831

1 December A pleasant & busy day. I miss my companion Cunningham & am less inclined to take a long walk alone though we used to pursue our march in silence.

The *Halcyon* sailed to day.

Coffee is now sold at about 11¢ the single shelled first quality.

2 December. Another fine day. No arrival.

3 December After a busy day went into the country with Mr Mason, Mr Watlington & Mr Jackson. Sand flies in greater number than ever caused much talk & some trouble & patience.

4[th] December. Passed this day in the country, breakfasting at Ysleta — taking a fine morning ride to enjoy a fine prospect.

Mem the cabbage tree is a little more productive than I thought since when it is cut down, say 100 #s [pounds?] more or less can be used for food, the part taken being the same which would afterwards open into those husks which hang from the green over the trunk of the palmetto or *palmito* (Spanish). Still I think so fine a tree should not be hewn down for so little a matter.

The flowers abound & the verdure of the foliage & cane & grass is at once brilliant & deep – in december as it was in August. Some particular trees have a little

of a fall look as e.g. the almond.[334] Why it is affected I don't know for the weather is warm, though the nights are somewhat cooler than in mid summer. (Saw a king-bird to day)kingbird

We had some pleasant conversations. Mr Jackson talked of Switzerland; its Protestant & Catholic villages – Fehlenberg – Italy, the Western States in U.S., the Indians & the Seminary for them in Kentucky.

On our return we caught a flying rumor of a revolution in Scotland.

5th December - Worked at the desk with tolerable assiduity & contentment. No arrivals, but a ship anchored off the harbor I believe. Walked after dinner. Called on Colonel Flinter, saw the troops at their exercises. Called at John Mason's. Bought a coat. &c. Read newspaper.

6th December- Wrote conclusion of Spanish letter to W.E: read Grammar & after dinner walked out with Mr Jackson. In evening spoke with Mr Sidney Mason about Vasco de Gama &c.- & read a page or two in *Edinburgh Review*

7th. December Nothing remembered of that day (now having passed till 11th without a word here).

8th was *fiesta* of the Conception,[335] & much like other holidays here. A procession took place in the afternoon & boys flung down greens & flowers in front of the image of "Our Lady".

One scandal occurred in the morning too gross to be unmentioned. Two priests quarreled while saying mass; one insulted the other insinuating or directly asserting that he had drank too freely of the holy chalice. The other was offended & from words they passed to blows, one striking the other to the ground in the church & before the assembled worshippers. I hear that some time since one priest threw a book at another in a similar service: & I am told moreover that little or nothing is likely to

[334] *Terminalia catappa*, its leaves turn red.
[335] Immaculate Conception of Mary.

follow from this recent offence against religion & decency, in the way of punishment to the priests.

San Francisco's church was splendidly lighted last evening on account on the vespers.

9th December Nothing especial

10th. December Saturday. We were busy getting through with the *Superior*'s invoices &c.

I have been buying a few sweetmeats for my first adventure to the amount of 5.75. - If it were not for duties in the U.S. something handsome might be made in the article of preserves, but I hate smuggling & do not mean to have Captains run risks which I would not run. Common preserves here may now be had for 25¢ mqo. a pound. The guava jelly & jams & other jellies & jams in boxes of about a pound each or more, 1/2 a dollar the box.

Sunday December 11. Today went on board the *Superior* to take leave of Mr Jackson &c. They sailed with a fine breeze. They carry besides coffee taken in at about 11¢ per pound & sugar at 2½ to 3, 7 or 8 000 oranges at 5$ a 1000.

After a walk &c. called on Dr. Jorro[336] & talked Spanish with him about disorders of chest &c. He thinks exercise of walking & riding horseback very bad for such complaints. Hammock swinging & sailing &c good. Lean meats good & butter &c bad as being indigestible. Such he says is the standard doctrine of all the authors he knows. Oh how Doctors differ!

Mrs John Mason taken sick last night. Mr Ezquiaga gone on coffee purchases today.- Sidney Mason remarkably pleasant.

December 12. A rainy day & not a very idle one. I made some blunders & did some things that if done less hastily would have been better done. Be wise in season. Set a

[336] Jorro is an unusual last name and no such physician appears in the island's medical histories. Perhaps the name is not spelled correctly.

watch on your lips. How a word too much may hurt the doings of many months towards lessening affection & respect among men & how poorly we creep through long ambages & alleys of explanation &c to get back to the point where we stood.

December 13 A breezy, pleasant day was passed in busy occupation from 6 till 7 P.M. Read a little of the Newspaper, looked into a book about telegraphic signals & conversation between vessels by means of flags. The art I should think susceptible of great improvement might be most beneficial. By a set of flags the most minute inquiries & invitations may be made & answered.

Read about the regalia of England. King George 4.'s crown cost about 500 000.$ -[337] The Queen's crown has about 300 & more diamonds great & small.

December 14th A busy day from 6 A.M. till dinner time, on my feet at the desk[338] except breakfast hour. Evening, busied myself in seeing to my little adventure, searching the shops for jars &c.

December 15th. Today I observed the process of peeling coffee on the wharf adjoining our store. I did not go near the negroes, but I should judge that they were at work on coffee in the shell as it is called. It was in large pots or mortars, & pounded by the negroes with double headed pestles; which operation probably breaks off the shell hull (or *cascara*) which is afterwards winnowed away from the kernels by other negroes who take it up in a calabash or other vessel a little at a time & drop it into the barrel again. I think I saw others passing it through a sieve or else causing the dirt & small kernels to escape through a sieve, that the remainder might be of good quality.

December 15th Nothing remembered

December 16th- Ditto save that this day was like yesterday, busy & pleasant

[337] A fabulous sum for the times, from 13 million to 7 billion present-day dollars, by different estimates, see http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php
[338] Which suggests he worked at a standing desk.

December 17th Such as the former. The *St Thomas* sailed & in the evening Mr Mason & self went to the country, had to take shelter from the rain in a negro's cabin where we found a man just above the savage, aye far more tame & gentle but equally unprovided with the luxuries of life. The hut & its owner were almost naked, one dark by nature, the other with smoke, (for the comfort of a little fire the poor soul was enjoying,) & in a few minutes after we were overtaken by a heavy shower which drenched such of our limbs as were not covered by umbrella or blanket, most thoroughly.

On arriving at Santa Barbara, we shifted clothes & washed in rum,[339] which I may truly say appeared for once a most agreeable medicine, removing all chilliness & probably preventing a severe cold.

December 18th Passed the day at Santa Barbara & in a visit to the Ysleta, where we found our friends sick. Returned in the evening. Caught again in a shower & again resorted to the bath of rum with good effect.

December 19.th & 20th Busy & pleasant days.

American vessels all just leaving us & the port quite empty.

Coffee buying at 11¢ & 11¼ somewhat flagging in consequence of quantities brought in. Perhaps to day 200 *quintales*[340] may have come in on horses, each bringing about 2 quintals or upwards. On the coast it sells for a higher price, say 12 cents.

The shopkeepers of the Island owe to merchants in St. Thomas. These shopkeepers engage the coffee of the planters – who owe them, or with whom they have opportunities of intercourse at all seasons - before the crop is ready & when it comes, they speculate upon it, demanding high prices or exchange on St Thomas in payment for the lots which the merchants now wish to purchase for shipment.

December 21 & 22 days Busy & pleasant.- St Thomas packets came down these days & brought news from England of riot in Bristol.

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[339] Perhaps "bay rum" (in Spanish, alcoholado), a common practice at least until mid-20th century.
[340] Spanish - hundred pound loads.

News of death of Kulenkamp, a young German well known & betrothed here, caused a little talk,- & all was over.

December 22d Arrived an American Brig - so I said before my walk: I returned & Charles came into the Café. Joy joy to the heart of his brother forlorn.[341]

December 23. How pleasant to find a friend on earth & none on earth that I have found sticketh closer than a brother. A mother is a benefactress, a nurse, a guardian, as well as friend; but the brother is the friend without the other claims upon love & respect. How pleasant too to find one here who knows what beauty & grandeur are & can make a duet of a song that was ready to cease for want of accompaniment & whose burden was the magnificence of scenery & the softness of the climate &c here.-

December 24. Saturday. At dinner time came in Doctor Jorro the Spanish acquaintance of Cunningham & made me a formal call. Walked out with Charles & self & is quite an odd though seeming friendly man. Must have a good organ of adhesiveness I think.[342]

Sunday 25 December Christmas morn. About one o'clock I went to mass at San Francisco but found nothing peculiarly splendid in the ceremony. The unwonted hour alone distinguished this from other services.

Passed the day in little arrangements, a pleasant dinner at John Mason's & a long walk about the fortifications.

December 26th. Long walks upon the beach & a dinner on board of Captain Butman's Brig *America* & talking with Charles & writing to Wm. filled the day & evening of this *fiesta*.

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[341] Charles stayed in Puerto Rico from 22 December 1831 to 10 April 1832, and he lived at Hacienda Santa Barbara from 16 January to 4 March. His letters to the family were published, essentially in their entirety, by Frank Otto Gattell in "Puerto Rico through New England eyes, 1831-1834," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 1 no. 3 (1959): 281-292.

[342] Allusion to phrenology, in which adhesiveness is the faculty of forming and maintaining attachments to individuals; in the journal, it is perhaps used metaphorically to indicate a capacity for loyalty and friendship.

December 27th A clear day & a transparent atmosphere.

Mrs Sidney Mason's sister Bellen[343] died in the forenoon.

Catalina arrived from St. Thomas.

December 28th- The *America* sailed - Nothing remembered but a long walk with C.C.E to the bridge.

December 29. Nothing worth writing down.

December 30 - Nought- Arrived the *Alpha* from Baltimore

December 31.st. Wrote, walked talked & thought by starts of the closing year.

Tomorrow - how I half desire, half dread thy sure approach. Thou wilt come & if I am here thou wilt witness either the same, or better or worse deportment.

[343] Burial of "Doña" María Belén Dorado Serrano, 27 December 1831, age 16 years, unmarried, native of San Juan. AHASJ, PC, Entierros, libro 28, 1831-1834, folio 58-58v.

1832: BACK AND FORTH

January 1832

January 1. Went into the country with Sidney Mason & C.C.E. Read a little, rested much, returned pleasantly, hope well for the year that has begun. May God grant the light of his countenance to illume the path of doubtful feeble man.

January 2d & 3d Passed these two days in the usual course of city business, scribbling & counting.

On the 2d, the Captain of the Port grossly insulted Messrs. Sidney & John Mason & struck the latter, who reflected on his position & interest enough to abstain from returning the blow.

An English ship came off the port & sent a boat in which was visited with great caution lest it should communicate the infectious "cholera" of which the poor crew were so utterly ignorant, as not even to understand at first whether it was a commodity or what that was so suspected.[1]

January 4 - An American Brig from Havre arrived today, perhaps only to get water &c. as she has 80 days voyage to report. Nothing else to say to this day's shade.[2]

Edward's post-script to Charles' letter to William Emerson in New York[3]

January 4, 1832

Mi querido hermano

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[1] The Superior Board of Health of Puerto Rico established regulations specifically addressed to prevent the ship-borne introduction of cholera on 2 December 1831, see Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 209-212.

[2] This day's shade - might refer to evening, or, more poetically, to the ghost or spirit of the day.

[3] MHi Ms N-251 (218). Translation: My dear brother: May you have a happy year. Thank you very much for your esteemed of 27 November, which I have read. It is not my fault, but a consequence of the long interval that sometimes occurs between ship departures, to which you should attribute the lack of news and letters at times in the course of our correspondence. I look forward to the gazettes you promised me, and in reference to the communication by "Don" Charles, in my rush I hope you will excuse me this time for not having written more, as I have turned over to Don C. all the business of conducting correspondence on our part, as he is the most recently graduated, and having more space than his brother, who remains, your servant and friend, "who kisses your hands". Please send the enclosed and deliver it to F.D.

Que tenga V. feliz año. Muchisimas gracias por su apreciada del 27 de Noviembre - de la qual estoy enterado. No es culpa mia sino consequencia del largo interval que occure algunas veces entre las salidas de los buques, a que V. debe atribuir la falta de noticias y cartas que sucede, en el curso de nuestra correspondencia. Espero a las gacetas que V. me promete y referiendo se á la comunicación de Don Carlos [i. e. CCE], en mi priesa no dudo que V. me dispense á mi, esta vez por no haberle escrito mas, pues he echado á Don C. todo el encargo de conducir la correspondencia, de nuestra parte, siendo él mas recientemente graduado, y teniendo mas lugar que su hermano que queda, su servidor y amigo Q B. S. M.
Que selle V. la incluida y entreguesela a F. D.[4]

January 5. After a very singular dream, made up of those strange elements which the conscience, the imagination & the senses furnish & mix, I awoke pleased & yet sober to begin another busy day.

We hear to day of a fire at St Thomas being the 3d which in the course of –- years has occurred in that island. Some say 300 houses or buildings are destroyed & 1000 puncheons of meal[5] & much other property & provisions. It took place on the last night of the old year & continued till the new morn.

January 6. - 5 A.M. Ought I not be ashamed to entertain a repining thought for a moment at any little privations, infirmity or hindrance that God sends me in my way through the world. Apart from all saintly considerations & the bounden duty of gratitude & contentment which holy men teach should refer & extend even to the lifting a Te Deum for our very sufferings - I say beside all this, what extreme of folly to pretend on one hand to aspire after a noble & perfect character, & on the other to grumble at the great or little evils connected with our constitution or place. I desire for example to be & to seem industrious, & shall I exert or manifest one jot more of industry by deploring the narrowness of the path or the numerous difficulties in which I am placed. That were any thing but industry. Industry patiently widens its

[4] Possibly Freeman Dodd, see letter of 13 April 1832.
[5] Coarsely ground cereal.

way & one by one removes the obstacles. So I would be & seem temperate - & what silliness there is if it be not mean evasion, to lament the strength of appetite & the hankering of the palate. So with patience, so with bravery, so with prudence, promptness & the other virtues... Every one of these to be well defined in theory or well manifested in action requires or supposes somewhat of effort made, or control or regulation exercised, without which the virtue would lack that very merit which is its essence & whereby it is a virtue & not a name.

Walked, read talked &c till bed time.

The negroes today went about begging *guirnaldas*[6] or new year's presents & the band of music of the regiment also paraded through the streets on a similar errand, playing before the doors of the officers &c. It is the *fiesta de la adoracion de los reyes* - i.e of the homage offered by the wise men of the East to Jesus Christ.[7]

The clatter of congos & rattles by which the negroes enliven their dances is very annoying to those who love quiet nights on the recurrence of these festal seasons. But notwithstanding this impediment to repose, the cessation from labor & the change of scene & occupation is a great refreshment & I count the 16 *fiestas* of this newly opened year as valuable vacations for a compting room scribbler.

A great Ball is to be the order of the evening in the Cabildo Hall.

January 7th. Nothing new.

January 8th Sunday passed in the city; dined at John Mason's with P. Gay Esq. & the Captain of the *Wanderer*, lately arrived from Havre & sad stories did they tell of their crew, who are desperate fellows. Mr Gay is consul general at the Western Islands[8] & speaks of Teneriffe as a cleanly, beautiful & healthful residence.

[6] Spanish - garlands; but he means *aguinaldos*, the season's presents.
[7] Spanish - Feast of the adoration by the kings, or Epiphany.
[8] Canary Islands, where Tenerife is located.

January 9th - Returned to business. The rain & thunder visited us today at 4 P.M. & the streets were mere channels for rivers of muddy water which poured through them, to the entire stop of passengers.

January 10th The duty of coffee is to be raised; why I know not. I learn it is because the duties are regulated at the beginning of the year & have a certain ratio to the price – which latter being now say 12 & 12½ $ per *quintal* the duty is to be 69¢.[9]

January 11th & 12 & 13 & 14 busy busy days & lazy evenings & long nights of deep sleep have closed up the remainder of the second week of this new year & I stand on the eve of a new Sabbath.

January 15 Sunday much interrupted or rather consumed as I would seldom wish it to be. But Sidney Mason showed a good disposition & hope it was not sinfully spent. Evening pleasant in conversation with C.C.E.

The Brig *Wanderer* is to be condemned. The *Catalina* & *Alpha* have sailed.

January 16th & 17th Beautiful days, Charles has gone to Santa Barbara.

Mem read sometime the address or edict of the Governor in relation to abuses of authority &c discovered in his recent tour; same published in one of the last week's gazettes.[10]

Mem. civility of the negresses in the house.

January 18. Nought new under this day's sun save a feeling of more strength.

January 19th Ditto & more ease in business

January 20th Still busy about the papers in case of the Brig *Wanderer*'s condemnation. To day the protest was signed & the Brig & her duds sold at auction. The hull & masts

[9] A duty of 5.50-5.75 per cent.
[10] The events of the visit are related in Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 241-266, and the edict is in pages 266-279.

brought 330$ & the rest of the appurtenances, sails &c & some ship's stores altogether say 1200 more.

January 21. Saturday - No arrivals this week from St Thomas or America.

Ate some *ajonjolí*[11] a confiture like molasses candy full of seeds of the *Sesamum orientale* or "oily purging grain" (Dictionary) quite palatable like burnt almond candy, but better. The negroes carry it about in large platters. (It is said to have been offered to Columbus by the natives of St. Domingo on his first arrival.)

January 22 Went out at 10 o'clock in a canoe paddled by a pleasant negro to Cataño, whence walked to Santa Barbara & passed the day & night with C.C.E. talking of German infidelity; the strong argument against it from the desperate condition of humanity & society if we should give up as a fable all, that sovereign improver & cure of evil that seems involved in Christianity amidst all its abuses &c[12]

Mem account of Spinoza that CCE gives & the dawn of just views of Christianity & religion among the genteel at College.

January 23 Returned to the city at 8 oclock. Found that a Boston vessel had arrived in 18 days with news of Stephen Girard's death & the bequest of his 17 millions, &c.[13] An American vessel to day from New Orleans.

January 24 & 25. Nothing remarkable, but coming of Joaquin Ezquiaga who returned to day from his coffee-trip, pleased with his visit to the coast: speaks of passing coffee

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[11] Spanish - sesame.

[12] "German infidelity" refers to the theological studies arising in Germany that insisted on historical research and individual reason, and denied "the miracles attesting the divine mission of Christ" (see address by Andrews Norton, "The latest form of infidelity" 19 July 1839, esp. the introduction and Note 1, in http://www.americanunitarian.org/nortonlatestform.htm). Unraveling Edward's syntax, it seems that the brothers considered that if Christianity were given up as all a fable, the condition of humanity & society would be desperate, because Christianity, amidst all its abuses, was a sovereign improver & cure of evil.

[13] Girard, Stephen (20 May 1750 - 26 December 1831), French-born, naturalized American banker, one of the wealthiest men in America in his time, who saved the US government from financial collapse during the War of 1812 and later left his wealth to charitable and municipal institutions in Philadelphia.

A glaring omission from the news of these days is any mention of the large slave uprising in Jamaica (27 December 1831 to January, 1832) and the execution of its leader in Montego Bay on 23 May 1832.

plantations whence exhaled a pleasant odour like that of flax. He says there are no diversions & no society in Aguadilla & Mayaguez.[14]

January 26 & 27 nothing remarkable, except on latter excellent news from Boston of Cunningham's safety, arrival &c. & Waldo's letter &c received.

January 28 nought.

January 29. Went out early Sunday morning with Mr & Mrs Mason & family to Sta Barbara where I passed a quiet day with C.C.E. Read one good chapter in Madame de Stael[15] on the distinction between morality & that sort of virtue founded on utility & self interest. 'Why' says she, in conclusion, 'make that the foundation of virtue which would dishonor vice itself?' 'No man' she says, 'has yet attained morality till he has ceased to act with a view to the consequences that may accrue to himself from this or that conduct, i.e. when the call of duty is clear & imperative.'

January 30th The city & its cares & some weakness of body

January 31. Mr Keating of N.Y showed his well remembered face in the compting room & brought to mind the old office at 60 Wall & its diligent tenant my affectionate partner & brother W. of whom Mr Keating tells me much.

February 1832

1 February - Nothing noticeable.

[14] Aguadilla and Mayagüez, in the west coast of Puerto Rico.
[15] Staël-Holstein, Anne Louise Germaine Necker, Madame de (1766-1817), French-Swiss author. Perhaps her greatly influential *De l'Allemagne* (1810), as he is reading a book titled *Germany* on 12 February.

2d February - Capt Lewis came to day from St Thomas & makes this *fiesta*[16] indeed a holiday by his good company & his good news from my far country. Yea so selfish am I that I call his news good because what concerns my friends is so, though he tells of sad influenza & cold afflicting the the community in Boston - but I hope this is slight - & transient & not to be named in the page with *cholera morbus* & plague which Mr Lewis has seen since he was last at Porto Rico. Think of men walking the streets with cane in hand to keep off fellow men lest touch should communicate plague!

3d February. More letters today which Mr Lewis had mislaid. Cunningham has been an active & thoughtful friend & my mother & brothers still live to love & benefit. What shall I render to my God for all his gifts to me.

4th February Saturday passed; a tedious day – whose fault? if not mine own – I can accuse no one – but I was impatient to get through the week & see the country & Charles.

5th February Went early across the bay & passed a most pleasant day (as days go amongst men) in Sta Barbara & read letters & discussed Swedenborgianism &ca with C.C.E. Returned without rain or disagreeable incident by the light of a half grown moon. C.C.E says that Whitman[17] errs in his story of Swedenborg's heavy dinner & subsequent vision: but I doubt.

6th February City; business & wrote letters to Cunningham in Spanish & to S. Bradford in English.

7 February Busy day & rain squalls. Guerrero[18] arrived from Havana & 2 American Schooners, one of which from Baltimore was put into Quarantine, because it brought

[16] Candlemas, "Candelaria", 2 February.
[17] Perhaps Bernard Whitman (1796-1834), prominent Unitarian minister in Massachusetts.
[18] Antonio Guerrero was captain of the brig *Carolina* (see *Gaceta* 9 June 1832: 276; 14 June: 284), which, according to Tapia, served as the "correo" or mail carrier between Puerto Rico and Havana, Cuba. Tapia, who

no bill of health, though none of the Baltimore vessels have used to bring them; & the last vessel that arrived from Wilmington North Carolina brought none & was admitted without quarantine.

8th - 9th & 10th & 11th February passed in the city - Cool days & nights & busy ones. I have resumed my little lessons with Carbo & have heard Colonel Flinter read some of his unprinted work. He says the Island is about 33 miles broad or 36, that the regular troops are 45 000 & disposable force 150000, that on the south side it is frequently for 12 months dry, without any rain, though fertility is kept up from the abundance of water a little below the surface of the ground.

On the evening of the 11th read Waldo's new year sermon.

Captain Lane arrived from New Orleans 20 days - passage out 15 days.

12th February Passed a delightful day in the country & going to & from the same. Read a little in *Germany*[19] & the National Republican's address by A. Everett; excellent.

13th February city- A gusty day

14th February Ditto - The moonlight evening was occasionally disturbed by squalls of wind & rain though the brilliancy of the sky was hardly lessened so oblique & so transient were the cloudy visitors.

Almeyda a pirate who has been 3 years imprisoned here was shot to day.[20]

15-16 & 17th February passed without much to distinguish them except the cold wind & rain which rendered the morning & evening air even chilly; as compared with common temperature at Porto Rico.

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sailed on it to Spain in 1834, at 8 years of age, described Guerrero as a "short, fat man, red as a tomato and with a great bad temper fit for a demon" (*Mis memorias*, 55, 60).

[19] Possibly *De l'Allemagne*, by Madame de Staël.

[20] See Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 280; Alonso, *El gíbaro*, 248-254; burial certificate of José Almeyda, 14 February 1832, who died "en el último suplicio" (in the supreme punishment), age 55 years, born in San Miguel, Terceira (Azores, Portugal), married to Ana Migran, with eight children, AHASJ, PC, Entierros, libro 28, 1831-1834, folio 74v.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[21]

San Juan de P. R. 11 de Febrero de 1832

Mi querido hermano,

Palabras me faltan para espresar á V. el gusto que tuve en recibo de sus apreciadas (una de las fechas 15 y 30 de Diciembre y 1 de Enero y otra carta del 10 de Enero) juntas con bultos de vestido y de entretenimiento asi para el cuerpo como para el alma. Multiplique V. el numero de los articulos enviados por él de las leguas que separan á nosotros, y abone me el producto que es el numero de las gracias que le doy. Muy agradables me eran las noticias de la llegada de Winthrop Cunningham, tambien, (aun no le miraba como á W. Cunningham) las de Jackson.—El mismo dia en que recibi las cartas de V. llegó una de Cunningham escrita de Boston, y varias de mamma y Waldo con libritos and gacetas—y ropa que necesitaba para la cama &a.—Asi es que hallo mi ultimo estado

[21] MHi Ms N-251 (220). My dear brother, I have no words to express the delight I felt upon receiving your letters (dated December 15 and 30, and January 1 and another January 10) together with packages containing clothes and amusement for the body and soul. Multiply the number of articles sent by the number of leagues that separate us, and credit to my account the product, which is the number of my thanks. I was also very pleased by the news of Winthrop Cunningham's arrival as well as (not considered yet as W. Cunningham) those of Jackson. The same day I got your letters I received one from Cunningham from Boston, and several from Mother and Waldo with books and newspapers - as well as bed linens which I needed, etc. So I am now in better shape than formerly, before the loss or robbery, about which your facetious complaint is more pleasant than the quixotic situation that you sketched as desirable: shots, knives, etc. I remember that even Rob Roy did not refer to "drawn dirks and swords pointed" at him as pleasant things, and that is even more the case with me, who am not a brave highlander and who would rather have violent hands placed on my clothes and not on my person.

Your letter of December 15 brought the first news of the generosity of S. Bradford, who (and I can praise him no higher) appears to have inherited the great heart with his father's name. If it were in my power, I would repay him; but I cannot yet do so. I have written him a letter, thanking him, etc.

I have taken cognizance of your ideas on exercise. The vest and drill trousers arrived well, and their color makes them more useful. How much do I owe you? (5?) The atlas may come in handy. I have your book, *Poet Gnom.;* you have only to let me know and I will return it. I had wanted the cards with your name, and I took those which you sent Charles. I will not need any additional phosphoric wicks. These are luxury items, and I now have less expensive tools with which to light up: steel, stone, and local wicks made from cotton twine dipped in sulphur. Thank you for the news on Mr. and Mrs. Haskins, Mrs. N., and Delia. Give them my regards.

Also remember me to Dr. Perkins and tell him that I am grateful for his advice, which led me to leave New York and, after God, saved my life. When I arrived in Porto Rico, I weighed 97 pounds. I have gained 10 pounds over the course of 10 months. A weight of 107 is not much, but is it better to gain than to lose when one starts out at such a low weight. Who knows if the loss of 10 pounds could have been to me the 'straw that broke the camel's back.' With respect to your Arrowsmith, the offer is very cheap, but for now, 'the king will decide.' Perhaps in the course of some months I will be able to order the maps. The flute, etc. for Ezquiaga arrived well. Thank you on his behalf and from your servant and brother Edward.

mejor que lo era mi primero, antes del suceso de la pérdida ó robo, sobre el cual su queja faceciosa es mas agradable que lo hubiera sido la situacion algo quixotica que me delinea Vm. como desirable, pistoletazo, punales &a. Me acuerdo que aun Rob Roy no refiere "las espadas empujadas y pistolas tiradas"[22] contra él, como cosas muy gustosas, y mucho mas yo que no son un Montañes guapo, prefiriese que manos violentas fueran puestas sobre mi ropa, y no sobre mi persona propia.

Su Carta del 15 Diciembre me dió las primeras noticias de la liberalidad de S. Bradford, quien (y mas no pudo alabarle) me parece heredar el grande corazon, con el nombre de su padre. Si era en mi poder, le pagara; todavia no lo es. Le tengo escrita una carta, agradeciendole &a.

Estoy enterado de sus ideas sobre ejercicio. El chaleco y los calzones de drill llegaron bien, y el color les hace mas serviciales. A como les abonare en me cuenta? (5?) El atlas me puede ser útil. Su libro *Poet Gnom.*[23] queda en mi poder; no tiene V. mas que avisarme, y le volveré. Las papelitas con su nombre &a ya habia deseado, y tomo esas que Vm. mandó á Carlos. No necesitaré mas mechas fosforicas. Son cosas de luxo y ahora tengo abios mas economicos para sacar fuego, eslabon, piedra y mechas del país hechas de cuerda de algodon mojada de azúfre. Le agradezco las noticias de Mr. y Mrs. Haskins, Mrs. N. y Delia. Dé les espresiones de mi amistad.

Tambien memorias á Dr. Perkins y dile que quedo agradecido á él por su consejo que me impelió á dejar New York y debaxo Dios, salvó mi vida. Quando llegué en Pto. Rico, mi peso era 97 libras. He ganado 10 libras en el tiempo de 10 meses. Muy poco es el peso de 107 libras, pero mejor la ganancia que la perdida quando se ocupa una posicion tan baja. Quien sabe si la perdida de diez libras no me hubiera sido como 'la ultima onza del camello. Respeto á su Arrowsmith,[24] su oferta es muy barata, pero por ahora '*le roi s'avisera*.[25] Acaso, en el transcurso de algunos meses puedo ordenar las mapas. La flauta &a de Ezquiaga llegó bien. Gracias de su parte y de la de su servidor y hermano Edoardo.

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[22] Scott, Walter (1771-1832). *Rob Roy*, historical novel (1818), chapter 14: "drawn dirks and swords pointed".
[23] Specific book not identified. Gnomic poetry presents short verses with moral content.
[24] A map by Aaron Arrowsmith (1750-1823) or a relative, English cartographers.
[25] French - the king will consider it.

S.J.P.R. Feb 16. 1832

Since I wrote you the enclosed Spanish, which is longer than it looks to be, we have had nothing remarkable here but the execution of a noted pirate, a Portuguese by birth who was shot last Tuesday, after being in prison for 2 or 3 years. His name Almeda. We have had cool weather now for a week or fortnight; so cool that it is called by way of distinction cold; it would probably melt your New York icicles right quickly, for I believe the thermometer stands at 72 & the coolness is more felt because of the high gusts of wind and rain. Charles was well last Sunday. Goodbye, E.

Please take charge of enclosed

18 February Justa, Mrs Mason's sister was buried. The corpse was brought to church with rose in its hand & singing was continued for an hour around it.[26]

Read Waldo's sermon "We shall all give an account &c" Fine views of power & wealth it contains.

19 February Went to Country: saw C.C.E., visited the cave on the hill – 4 yards wide & 20 long - & say 9 or 10 high.

Read *New England Magazine* - evening. How pleasant to see the elevation of the world, the growth of mankind in stature & grace by the improvement so manifest in these periodical publications. What a fine treatise on Hebrew poetry; &c &c.[27]

20th. February The crop of coffee which seemed so abundant but a few weeks since has been so rapidly taken up that now it is somewhat difficult to collect the quantities desired for a few cargos. Perhaps two thirds of all that proceeds from this crop for exportation has already gone.

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[26] Burial of "Doña" Justa Dorado, 18 February 1832, age 22 years, married to "Don" Carlos de Castro. AHASJ, PC, Entierros, libro 28, 1831-1834, folio 74v.

[27] "G". "Hebrew poetry", *New-England Magazine* (published in Boston starting in July 1831) August 1831: 97-104.
http://books.google.com.pr/books?id=JyPZAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=New+England+magazine&source=bl&ots=gkCjo9PDNe&sig=DZFZaC3wQcag0mqw3WyR-CBSLQ4&hl=es&ei=7zlVTezoA8SftgeV7_CSDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CBAQ6AEwADgK#v=onepage&q&f=false

Letter to William Emerson in New York[28]

San Juan—20 de Febrero de 1832

Mi querido hermano

Le molestaré dandole cuidado del las inclusas los cuales V. encaminará y hará favor á Carlos como tambien á las personas interesadas en recibir las noticias que puedan contener. Ayer ví a Carlos que estúvo bien. Me alegro de ver quanto se han amejorado en estilo los *Magazines* de los Estado Unidos, pues este numero que V. me envió del *New England Magazine* me parece tener artículos de mucho merito. Quien era el autor dél sobre la poesia de los Judíos?

Buena noche.

Ed^{o}

Acordandome de lo que sufrimos en Wall St. á causa de los misquitos me atrevo de darle consejo que pusiese sobre su catre ó cama una mosquetera (moschito net) asi que gastando 4 o 5 pesos V. pueda dormir bien, y oir de lejos las canciones ó bien las quejas de sus enemigos. Estas cortinas contra los mosquetos pueden colgarse por cuerdas, y costaran menos que la construccion de colunas.

21. 22. & 23 & 24 February very busy days. The Government here have contracted for materials to build a large vessel. A planter has sent for a steam sugar mill.[29] The singer Mrs Pearman is to entertain the musical world next Sunday evening in the Theatre.

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[28] MHi Ms N-251 (221). My dear brother I press upon you the enclosed, which you will take care to direct, and do Charles a favor, as well as those who may be interested in the news therein. I saw Charles yesterday, and he was well. I was pleased to see how the style of magazines in the United States has improved, because the issue of *New England Magazine* which you sent seems to me to have very good articles. Who was the author of the one on the poetry of the Jews?
Good night. Edward Remembering how much we suffered on Wall St. because of mosquitoes, I dare suggest that you place a mosquito net over your cot or bed. Thus by spending 4 or 5 dollars you can sleep well, and hear from afar the songs or perhaps the complaints of your enemies. These mosquito nets can be hung with string, and cost less than the making of bed pillars.

[29] The first steam-powered sugar mill in Puerto Rico was installed ca. 1822, see Scarano, *Haciendas y barracones*, 174.

25th February American Man of war *Fairfield* - Captain Elliott entered to day – fired 21 guns.

26th February Sunday. Walked, wrote rough letter to Barlow – read Ware's *Formation of Christian Character*, one chapter &c.[30]

Mr Mason gave Commodore Elliott a very elegant dinner & the Commodore made himself very agreeable.

We went in the evening to a concert & heard Mr & Mrs Pearman[31] sing in the new Theatre now lighted up for the first time.[32] It is a very pretty edifice & the people conducted themselves with remarkable decorum. Soldiers walked about in the passages (lobbies) & two, I noticed, were in the Governor's box. The ladies were very tastefully dressed & some might be called pretty. The singing was in the style of the Opera.[33]

I heard to day some frightful accounts of depravity in a certain place &c Mem.

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[30] Ware, Henry, Jr. (1794-1843), Unitarian minister. *On the formation of the Christian character, addressed to those who are seeking to lead a religious life*. Boston: Gray and Bowen; Cambridge: Hilliard and Brown, 1831.

[31] Pearman, William (Manchester, England, 1792 - died on or after 1832). He entered the navy as a cabin-boy, but, having been wounded in the leg at the battle of Copenhagen, retired with a pension from the service. His voice and style were ineffective in a large house. Pearman's natural voice, soft or veiled in tone (also described as 'smothered'), did not reach beyond E, although he could force a G. His falsetto was sweet when audible, but it was not possible for him to sing many tenor songs in their original key. He was also unable to make use of the trill, and in 1825 he was taking lessons from an Italian singing teacher. He was a small man, about 5 feet 3 inches tall, but well proportioned. His complexion was described as 'sallow; his hair and eyes dark; and the contour of his countenance decidedly foreign'. His manner was so graceful that his lameness (due to his injured leg) was scarcely evident. He was a good-humoured man whose talent as an actor was widely recognized. A biographer hints at Pearman living beyond his means, and also mentions that he married the daughter of a small inn-keeper. Nothing is known of him after 1825, according to the Oxford *Dictionary of National Biography*, online.

[32] Cruz Monclova, in his *Historia de Puerto Rico*, indicates the municipal theater's construction was finished "by the end of 1829" (page 253), but also "by the end of 1830 or early 1831" (page 649). If Edward is right about it being "lighted up for the first time" in February 1832, then it was first used to host a succession of balls (19, 21, 23 February 1832) to celebrate the marriage of Fernando VII and María Cristina of Bourbon-Sicily, see Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 30-34.

[33] The Pearmans gave at least three concerts in San Juan, but the issues of the *Gaceta* with the advertisements for the first two are apparently lost. For their third concert, on 30 May, Guillermo (William) and Ana (Anne) Pearman offered to sing arias "from the most select Italian and German operas, dressed as the corresponding character", see *Gaceta* 26 May 1832: 252. The concert ended with a song in praise of the king, Fernando VII, as it was his name day (Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 297).

27 February. Nought but common thoughts, deeds & words – except a little pleasant reading &c in evening.

28. 29 30[34] &c till 4th March nothing particular occurred excepting the receipt of letters &c.

March 1832

4 March went to Santa Barbara & returned with Charles

5 & 6 March concluded the Carnival. Eggs were emptied of the yolk & filled with cologne, covered again with painted wax & thrown about for diversion.[35]

7 March. Ash Wednesday. Sermons are now to be delivered 4 times a week. To night I found the Cathedral so full that I left the place because I could find no convenient spot for hearing & seeing the preacher to advantage. Sundays & Wednesdays at the Cathedral, Tuesdays at San Francisco & Fridays at Santo Domingo the clergy will preach.

8th to 24th March wrote nothing, busy.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[36]

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[34] Sic - only 29 days in February 1832.

[35] Attested by Daubón, *Cosas de Puerto Rico*, 1: 57-58.

[36] MHi Ms N-251 (222). My dear brother, I have in my power your valued letter of the 4th and 15th of last month, and have in its proper place the instrument [dental prosthesis?] that Mr. Greend. made for me, according to my wishes and your orders. It had a timely arrival, because the old one, although very weak, punctured, and soon to take its leave, had not abandoned me altogether, so I have not had to speak or eat a single day without the full complement of my white slaves [teeth?]. Thank you for your good offices. I also appreciate your congratulations on Charles's happy arrival, which gave me much pleasure. He has now returned from the country and is staying with me at Mr. Mason's, and keeps me company in the afternoon and night. He is in better health, and expects to return to Boston or New York in early May or late April.

Mother and Waldo have sent me the Boston newspapers from January, and these, together with the ones you sent me, have kept me up-to-date on what has happened up north, and make me grateful both for the care of my friends and for the worthy projects carried out by persons and societies in the United States. If it is not a bother, please continue to do me the same favor for the rest of the year.

My friend Cunningham tells me that he has moved, and is now likely to be in New York. Please give him the enclosed letter, as indicated in the envelope.

Marzo 7 de 1832 / Pto Rico

A Guillermo

Mi querido hermano,

Descansa en mi poder su carta apreciada de fechas de 5 y 14 del mes proximo pasado, y tengo en su lugar propio el instrumento que me hizó Mr. Greend. segun mis deseos, y sus órdenes de V. Este llegó en hora buena, porque el viejo aunque estaba debilisimo, horadado, y pronto para despedirse, no me habia enteramente abandonado, asi que no he sido obligado ni hablar ni comer ni un dia, sin tener el numero completo de mis esclavos blancos.[37] Le agradezco su servicio. A demas le agradezco sus espresiones congratulatorias sobre la llegada feliz de Carlos, que me dió bastante gusto. Ahora este ha volvido del campo y queda conmigo, en casa del Señor de Mason, y es mi compagnero por las horas de la tarde y noche. Se halla en mejor salud, y espera irse para Boston ó New York en principios de Mayo, ó fin de Abril.

Mi madre y Waldo me han enviado las gacetas de Boston, correspondientes al mes de Enero, y estas añadidas á las que tuviste la bondad de enviarme, nos ponen al cabo de lo que pasó en el norte, y me dejan agradecido, á la vez por la atencion de mis amigos, y por la vista de projectos buenos, que siguen adelantando entre los individuos y las

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We had the pleasure, on the 25th of last month, of seeing an American warship, the *Fairfield*, under the command of Commodore Elliott, who stayed here two days and had dinner once at the consul's residence, where he behaved politely, as a gentleman and officer. These visits by warships contribute much to provoke respect for the country to which they belong, as they show that the United States has strength and a navy as well as officers and the other accoutrements of a powerful nation, although ordinarily, one sees only its merchandise, including wood planks, cod, shingles, etc.

With no other news for now, I remain, your brother, most loving and reliable servant, Eduardo
Regards to all who remember me in that city, and please accept affectionate regards from Charles. E.
March 12, I will send you, in care of Captain Howes on the brig *Pocket* a jar of *mamey* (called *mammey apple* in St. Croix) jam. I hope that you will like it. The Captain will take it free of charge and will deliver it to you on board whenever you wish.
March 12 If it is not too much trouble, a friend of mine, Don Antonio Comas, would like you to buy him in New York two copies of Vattel's *Law of Nations* (in Spanish), as well as a tome titled *Lessons in Rhetoric* which a law professor in Guatemala wrote for his students, in *octavo*. He wants four copies of the latter. If you can find them in that city, please buy them at the best price you find, and send them as soon as possible, with the bill for the purchase, which I will repay you, together with my heartiest thanks. There is no limit for this order. Buy the books, whatever their cost. With your usual diligence.

Also, there appears to be a new, praiseworthy Spanish translation of Homer's *Iliad*. Please let me know if this is available in New York, and how much it costs. My friend does not want to acquire the latter until he knows the price. In any event, it is best to send the books by way of St. Thomas instead of waiting for ships sailing for San Juan.

[37] He seems to be referring to a dental prosthesis, and his "white slaves" are his teeth.

sociedades de los Estados Unidos. Si no le molesta, continue Vm. hacer me semejante favor por el resto del año.

Mi amigo Cunningham me escribe que se mudó de residencia, y ahora, probablemente, está en N. York. Sirvase entregarle la carta inclusa, segun sobre escrito.

Tuvimos el gusto, en el 25 del ultimo de ver un Buque Americano de Guerra, el *Fairfield*, bajo mando del Commodore Elliott, quien quedó dos dias aqui, y una vez comió en casa del Consul, donde se comportó cortesmente, como caballero, y oficial. Esas visitas de buques de Guerra contribuyen mucho suscitar un respecto para el pais á que pertenecen, pues sirven á mostrar que los Estados Unidos tienen fuerza y armadas, y oficiales y demas partes constituentes de una nacion poderosa, aunque ordinariamente se ve solamente sus mercancias, como tables, bacalao, tejamaní &a.

Sin otra cosa por ahora, me repito, su hermano

afectisimo y seguro servidor &a

Edo.

Memorias finas á todos que se acuerdan de mi en esa ciudad, y acepte V. espresiones cariñosas de la parte de Carlos. E.

Marzo 12, Le mandaré por conducto del Capitan Howes del Bergantin *Pocket*, un tarrito de dulce de mamey (en Santa Cruz se llama *mammey apple*.) Espero que le gustará á Vm. El Capitan le toma sin flete y le entregará quando V. quiere, aplicandose abordo.

Marzo 12 Un amigo mio, Don Antonio Comas quiere si no le molesta á V. que comprase en New York dos ejemplares de Vattel (en Español) sobre *Derecho de Gentes*;[38] tambien una obra intitlada *Lecciones de Retorica* que compuso para sus discipulos el Catedratico de derecho en Guatemala un tomo en 8vo.[39] De este ultimo 4 ejemplares. Si V. puede hallarles en esa ciudad, hagame el favor de comprar dichos libros, por el mejor precio que se lo pueda, y mandarmeles por primera occasion, con una nota del dinero que V. habrá

[38] Vattel, Emmerich de (1714-1767). *El derecho de gentes*, at least two editions in Spanish published in 1822: Madrid and Bordeaux.

[39] Possibly Valero, Fernando. *Lecciones de retórica*. New York: G. Grattán, 1824. "Octavo" refers to the size of the page. For a publication "in octavo," each sheet of paper was folded three times, divided into eighths, thereby producing 8 leafs.

pagado, y yo le seré responsible á V. por el mismo, ademas agradeciendole de todo corazon. No se pondra limite en esta orden. Compre los libros, costen lo que cuesten.

Con su acostumbrada diligencia

Despues, se dice que hay una nueva traduccion Castellana de la *Yliada* de Homero,[40] la qual tiene mucho merito. Hagame el favor de ver si se puede encontrar esta obra en New York, y de avisarme á como se la vende. No quiere mi amigo comprar este ultimo hasta saber el precio.

Hallando ocasiones directas, puede mejor mandar los libros por via de San tomas, en lugar de aguardar buques para San Juan.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[41]

14 March—

I have this moment received yours of 23^{d} February with papers &c.

In haste

Ed—

Letter to William Emerson in New York[42]

St John's P.R.

March 16th 1832

Dear William

If I've not forgotten our vernacular let us have a word or two in the same for I have not patience at this moment to study out a letter. I acknowledged two days ago your kind letter of 23^{d} ultimo & now give thanks in detail for Ulbury & Stacke pocket lights, Cadalso,[43] sponge, *Whigs* & the *Pastor Fido*,[44] all which are acceptable. Flinch not I beg you at the order for books in my last if so be you can raise the money without

[40] Possibly José Gómez Hermosilla's translation, *La Ilíada*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1831.
[41] MHi Ms N-251 (223).
[42] MHi Ms N-251 (224).
[43] Cadalso, José (Spanish, 1741-1782); as indicated below, *Cartas marruecas* (1789).
[44] Guarini, Battista (Italian, 1538-1612), *Il pastor fido, tragicommedia pastorale*, a very famous play of the seventeenth century.

inconvenience for I should wish to oblige my fellow clerk, Comas, & feel no doubt he will make me the proper payment, as at all events, I shall be responsible to you.

Will you do one another favor—to look into my old account books & from the most recent date of my debt account, take off a little sketch that I have put there of the sums I owe to R. W. E., R. H., Mrs Shepd, Miss Cook, Φ. B. K., Dr E. R., Mr P., &c, & send me the minutes on a corner of your next letter. If you have the leisure too send me your account current that I may know how stand Debit & Credit between us. Let me know (also when you have leisure) how much may be set down as the value of any law books or other volumes that belong to me in your office; if you wish appraise them at what you would rather give than not, for the same. In making out my little inventory here I set down my U.S. property altogether as = 40$. This estimate has an advantage in not being more than 40$ wide of the truth. Dos't take?

I rejoice to see your side taken as to Indians. I rejoice to see Greenough attending the very mark of his high ambition, & he has certainly carved his way to eminence. Send Halleck,[45] when you own it. If you will get Waldo to pay one-third & will pay one-third yourself I'll pay the other one-third for the *Edinburgh Review* to be read first at Boston, then at New York & finally here; for it matters little if I get it 4 months after it is first published in Boston. If this however be only extravagance under a veil of economy, perish the thought between U & I—& be you sole judge.

Charles is quite reinstated & after another month & then a tonic voyage will come back, gaunt but in better trim. You must tell me in your next how Dana is & where. Love to all those you name & the "fifty" whom you name not but whom I would remember in New York & fare thee well. *Memorias* to Cunningham.

Captain Keating knew no better than to be offended or to pretend that he was, by the civil questions that were put to him by the clerk of the Consul here, to wit your humble servant, recording to the invariable usage with all masters of American vessels entering this port. He did not tell me so but did others which was naughty. When he goes

[45] Halleck, Fitz-Greene (1790-1867), American poet, then very popular and called in his time "the American Byron".

away he may say somewhat to me or I to him. You need say naught to him, but should he to you speak of the matter, you already understand it & will know its whole amount.

Yours in love

E.

25 March - *Catalina* ready but went not to sea. Mr Lewis is to go in her & to return with his family. The articles of partnership were signed between Sidney Mason, George Washington Lewis, John Mason to day.

Danish man of war has been here two days.

Called to night on Donna Catalina Dorado, & was shown the whole of her little but commodious house rented to her at 20$ per month - one parlor, two good bed rooms, neat kitchen yard & bed room for domestic.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[46]

Saint Johns, Pto Rco, 25 March 1832.

William Emerson, Esq.

New York;

My dear brother,

I take much pleasure in thus introducing to your acquaintance Mr George Washington Lewis. This gentleman is about to become a partner in the House of Mr Mason & you will not fail to perceive after an interview with Mr Lewis that I have reason to regard the proposed connection as I do, with very high satisfaction.

I hope it will be in your power to show Mr Lewis some attention while he remains in your city, as he has been a kind friend to

Your affectionate brother & Servant

Edw B. Emerson

Letter to William Emerson in New York[47]

[46] MHi Ms N-251 (226).

San Juan, P. R. 25 Marzo de 1832

Mi querido hermano

Necesito la capa de mi capoton. Quando dejé Nuevo York me parece que dejé esta capa alli; y si no queda en su poder, haga me el favor de escribir a mi Mammá á fin de que ella me la mandase el mas pronto possible, porque con las mangas del capoton que tengo aqui y esa capa puedo hacer un chaquete que me sera muy util y tambien bonito. No aguarde V. ocasiones directas, sino aprovechese de las que se le ofrezcan por via de San Tomas, escribiendo algunas veces una esquela á Davis & Latimer, ó basta espresar sobre el bulto el destino segun su costumbre.

Ya hace un rato que no he tenido el gusto de recibir alguna de sus apreciadas. Tampoco me han alcanzado cartas de Waldo ni de mi madre. Pero écho la culpa á ninguno sino á la suerte.

Hoy dí una carta de introduccion á Don Jorge Washington Lewis, antes Capitan de buque, ahora caballero y comerciante que ha concluido tratto con los Sres de Mason por ser socio suyo en la casa de comercio aquí, y que va al Norte para traer á esta Ysla su muger y familia de Boston. Me alegro mucho de esta decision, pues que Don J. W. Lewis me parece hombre de bien, amigo digno capaz, industrioso y lo demas que puede gustar á un dependiente en el caracter de su principal (nombres corelativos y algo tecnicales que expresan "clerk & master").

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[47] Also MHi Ms N-251 (226). My dear brother I need the cape of my greatcoat. When I left New York I seem to have left it there; if it is not at your disposal, please write Mamma so that she may send it as soon as possible, because with the sleeves of the coat I have here and that cape, I can have a jacket made that will be very useful as well as handsome. Do not wait for a direct sailing, but rather take advantage of whatever is available by way of St. Thomas, addressed to Davis & Latimer, or writing the destination on the package, as you usually do.

It has been some time since I have had the pleasure of receiving one of your esteemed letters. Nor have I heard from Mother or Waldo. But I blame none, but luck.

Today I gave a letter of introduction to Mr. George Washington Lewis, previously a ship's captain but now a gentleman and businessman who has finalized an arrangement with Mssrs. Mason to become their partner in the business here, and who is heading north to bring to this island his wife and family from Boston. I am pleased with this decision, because Mr. G.W. Lewis seems to be a good man, a worthy friend, and a capable and industrious man, which is what a clerk wants to see in the character of his master (to use the hierarchical and somewhat technical terms).

I wrote you on the 16th sending you a small jar of jam through the captain of the brig *Pocket,* and ordering some books which I hope you will find a way to send.

Charles sends his regards, and is well. With nothing else at present Your most affectionate brother, Edward

Le escribí, el 16 mandandole un chiquito pote de dulces por el capitan del Bergantin *Pocket*, y ordenando algunos libros si le seria conveniente enviarles.

Carlos le mande memorias, y está bueno. Nada mas se ofrece por ahora á

Tu hermano afectisimo

Edoardo

28th March arrived *America* in which before came C.C.E.

29th March Sailed New packet,

Ant

February

Hunter

having been detained by head winds hitherto.

Mr Viner's child died to day.[48]

30 March. Mr Watlington breakfasted with us having recovered from a sickness which many thought was his last.

April 1832

Letter to William Emerson in New York[49]

[1 April 1832]

Mi querido hermano

Si acaso se presente ocasión para encaminar a la inclusa, haga lo. – Hace mucho tiempo que no he recibido cartas de V. Le escribí en el 25 de Marzo - por la Goleta *February*.

Suyo –

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[48] Burial of María Enriqueta, daughter of "Don" Tomás Viner and "Doña" Hanriet Whitefoord (sic), three months old, 29 March 1832, AHASJ, PC, Entierros, libro 28, 1831-1834, f. 87-87v.

[49] MHi Ms N-251 (228). My dear brother If you have the chance to forward the enclosed, do so. I have not gotten any letters from you in a very long time. I wrote you on March 25th, sent by way of the schooner *February*. Yours --- Edward
Charles is well.

Edo-

Carlos está bueno.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[50]

Pto Rico

April 10 1832

Dear William

I had pleased myself with the idea of paying Charles' passage home but from a little difficulty in getting sound money,[51] I have been obliged to forego the satisfaction & perhaps put you to temporary inconvenience. If I prosper I will pay it in the end. Charles of course will for the present take care to reimburse you immediately for the honoring of my order sent in this date by Captain Neal for 30 $.

Yours

Edward.

April 10. Charles has gone. We spoke to the Captain of the Schooner *Mercator* last evening packed up &c. He left the port between 12 & 3 o'clock. & I am alone, but as the negress said to me tonight I am *Solito con Dios*.[52] He that never leaves us is here. Charles has left a good fragrance behind him. None will speak ill of him. The bond women as well as the free seem to love him & one tells me I must inform her of a chance to send him some sweetmeats.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[53]

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[50] MHi Ms N-251 (229).

[51] In this letter and the next, Edward refers to the difficulty and expense of obtaining sound, round currency, valued at 17% more than the territorial currency of clipped coins (*macuquina*).

[52] Spanish - alone (in the diminutive) with God.

[53] MHi Ms N-251 (231). My dear brother[:] Charles sailed on the schooner *Mercator* on the 10th of the current month. The schooner's captain is John Neal and its destination New York, and perhaps Charles will have greeted you before this letter arrives. If not, I hope you will have the pleasure of seeing him very soon thereafter. Considering the inconveniences and expenses of the double trip he expected to take, from here to Mayaguez and from that port on the brig *America* to Boston, we concluded that it would be better to take advantage of the *Mercator,* even if this ship sailed somewhat earlier that would have been convenient for us. Nevertheless, we calculated that the trip would take 15 days and that arriving in New York on April 25 or thereabouts, we could anticipate that the cold, that coastguard and formidable bogeyman of the north, would

San Juan de PR 13 Abril 1832

Mi querido hermano

Carlos se embarcó abordo de la Goleta *Mercator*, el dia 10 del mes corriente. Esta Goleta, su Capitan John Neal va con destino para New York, y quiza, Carlos le habra saludado antes que le llegue á V. esta carta. En caso que no, V. puede esperar el gusto de verle muy pronto despues. Considerando las inconveniencias y gastos del viage doble que pensaba hacer, de aqui á Mayaguez y de ese Puerto abordo del Bergantin *America* a Boston, hemos concluido que seria major aprovecharse del *Mercator*, aun que este buque salió unos pocos dias mas temprano que hubiera convenido á nosotros. Sin embargo hicimos el calculo, que el viaje durare, tal vez, 15 dias y que llegando a New York el dia 25 de Abril, ó por ahi, siempre podiamos esperar que el frio, ese guarda costa y espantajo formidable del Norte hubiera ya dejado de ser peligroso, y que saltando sobre su tierra nativa en aquel punto (de New York) encontrare la primavera con su cara ya aclarada de y limpiada de nubes y toda cosa que obscurecia su hermosura y estorbaba su brio.

Arreglando nuestras cuentas, pareció, que sin servirse de su carta de credito, Carlos podia volverse, con tal que el precio de su pasaje fuese pagado. Esta suma de 30$

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no longer be dangerous, and that landing in his native land from that point on (from New York), he would find spring with its face free from clouds and anything that would mar its beauty or impede its strength.

Arranging our accounts, it seemed that, without making use of his letter of credit, Charles would be able to return as long as his fare was covered. I wanted to pay this sum of $30 here, but finding it difficult it to pay in round currency, which is valued in the current exchange at least 17% more than the local currency, I took the liberty of charging this to you, giving Captain Neal an order for such an amount payable by W.E. Please pay him on arrival, and charge the $30 to my account. I will reimburse you for this expense, and I much regret having been such a nuisance. But if you should need the money before I have been able to pay you, Charles or Waldo will be able to advance you the sum; and what I will later pay you, you should then deposit to the account of whoever has advanced the money.

I trust as well as that the winds will favor our traveling brother, and that God will hold him in the palm of His hand.

During his visit here, he made friends of those who did not know him, and for me who knew him, it has been a great pleasure, and I wish I could tell him as much. I love him more than before, because I find him improved as much in habits as in judgment. He seems equally prepared for earth and for heaven. I trust that, having been the first brother who sought me out, he will not be the last. May you all come, and you will be welcomed in Puerto Rico when an appropriate occasion arises. Yours, Edward

Please speak to Freeman Dodd to see if he received the letter I wrote on December 28 or thereabout. I think not, because it was among those I entrusted to a Mr. Gay, none of which I have heard from. Tell F. Dodd that I want to know if he would be able to sell a few shipments, be it of coffee or sugar, in case I could be able to send a small amount, in order to send money to you or to reimburse you for those expenditures that you may have incurred on my account, such as the current order or that in my letter of the 14th of the last month, etc. I trust that his friendship for you will lead him to agree to this; if so, I will be able to send one or two barrels of sugar or coffee and I would want him to charge his regular commission.--- OK--- Edw.

If my friend Cunningham stays in New York [two lines covered by ink stain]

quisé pagar aquí pero hallando alguna difficultad en cobrar plata fuerte (Round Money) de la qual el agio estaba á 17 por ciento, quando menos, tomé la libertad de girar sobre V. dando á Capitan Neal, una orden para dicha suma, sobre W. E. Sirvase V. pagarle quando llegue, y cargar los 30$ en mi cuenta corriente. Yo tomaré alguna medida para reembolsar a V. este gasto, y siento mucho hallarme en caso de darle tanta molestia. Pero si V. necesita el dinero antes que se me presente buena ocasion para remitirlo, Carlos o Waldo tomaran cuidado de adelantar el pago; y lo que remiteré, entonces, puede V. considerar como de cuenta y propiedad dél que ha hecho dicho adelantamiento.

Espero, ademas que los vientos sean favorables á nuestro hermano viagero; y que el buen Dios le protegera en el cuevo de su mano.

Su visita aqui ha hecho sus amigos de los que no le conocian antes y a mí que le conocia, ha sido causa de mucho gusto, quisiera que podia decir de tanto á él mismo. Le quiero mas á el ahora que jamas antes; porque le hallo mejorado quanto en sus costumbres como en su juicio. Me parece igualmente preparado para la tierra y para el cielo. Espero que habiendo sido el primero de mis hermanos en buscarme, no sera el ultimo. Que vengan todos, y sean bienvenidos á Puerto Rico, quando vengan ocasiones aptas.

Suyo; Edoardo

Sirvase hablar á Freeman Dodd, para saber si ha recibido una carta que le escribí el 28 de Diciembre o por ahi. Creo que no, porque esa una de las que entregué á un Mr. Gay, ninguna de las cuales ha sido acusado. Pues diga á F. Dodd, que quiero saber si el pueda vender unas pocas partidas, sea de café o de azúcar, en caso que tuviera ocasion de enviar alguna pequena cantidad, para poner dinero en sus manos de V. ó para pagar los gastos que V. puede haber incurrido por mi cuenta, como por ejemplo esta órden, ó la de mi carta postdata del 14 del ultimo &a. &a. Espero que su amistad para V. le incitará á contestar que sí; y entonces podré enviar 1, o 2 barriles de azucar ó café y siempre quiero que el cargue su comision segun es regular.--Vale.--Edo.

Si mi amigo Cunningham queda en New York [two lines covered by ink stain]

Letter to William Emerson in New York[54]

[13 April 1832]

Mi querido Gillermo

Por ahorrar el tiempo que seria preciso para copiar la inclusa carta, la mando, aun borrada fiandome su mucha fineza y al amor fraternal que rige en su corazon; añadiendo solo que la que esta cubierta por la tinta tiene referencia mi amigo Cunningham, á quien presenté V. espresiones de amistad de mi parte, y digale, que no tengo cartas de él, hace mucho tiempo. Faltando F. Dodd en el asunto sobre qual le tengo escrito, sirvase aplicarse á Cunningham para conseguir el mismo fin.

Su hermano y amigo

Edo.

Daré una carta de introduccion á Capitan Newton de la Goleta *Romp* quien puede hacerle visita; solamente porque es uno que viene regularmente aqui, y se comporta bien segun el poco conocimiento que tengo dél , y es el que traerá la presente.

April 15. Sunday- Bathed in the sea.

After breakfast read Milton's *Penseroso* & *Lycidas*.[55]

Hold it my duty at present when I consider the past & the future, to devote myself to the duties of my station as a clerk without other ambition than that of well discharging those duties & endeavouring to lead a good life, leaving all more showy accomplishments or lofty enterprises for that morrow which taketh thought for its own things.

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[54] MHi Ms N-251 (230). My dear William In order to save the time required to copy the enclosed letter, I send it even with erasures, trusting the kindness and brotherly love that rule your heart; adding only that those lines covered by ink refer to my friend Cunningham, to whom please give my friendly regards, and tell him that I have not received any letters from him for a long time. If F. Dodd is not willing to engage in the matter about which I have written, please approach Cunningham towards the same end. Your brother and friend Edw. I will give a letter of introduction to Captain Newton of the schooner *Romp* who may visit you; only because he comes here regularly, and he conducts himself well from the limited knowledge I have of him, and he will deliver the present.

[55] Milton, John (English poet, 1608-1674). *Il Penseroso*, a poetic exploration of melancholy, 1645; *Lycidas*, an elegy,1638.

The procession this afternoon was remarkable as carrying 4 images under their respective canopies, the Angel – St John (Evangelist) - Our Lord - & the Virgin Mary. These were taken from church to church & after visiting each returned to that whence they came, where will take place religious services. Similar ceremonies will be repeated in the course of this (the holy) week. Some of the palms which have been to day consecrated were braided with great taste & attached to the balconies of houses.

Mem. It is candle light at this season about 7 P.M. In winter about 6.

16 April - This afternoon another procession – with its 4 images & a large cross borne with it.

We hear that Guayama has suffered perhaps 150 000$ loss by a fire.[56]

17 April. Tonight the procession was much more splendid than before; the two sides of the street were brilliant lines or streams of light proceeding from the torches or large candles carried by the moving columns of the attendant multitude. The images as usual preceded & followed by the clergy & their functionaries kept the centre, & the band played noble musick in the rear.

This is my 28th year, begun to day. May God guide, inform, strengthen, love me, & draw me to love him & serve him with my whole mind & heart & strength.– Amen

18th April I will endeavour from this evening till the 18th May to abstain from cigars – as an experiment which may be useful to my mind & body - I have now smoked for a year & a fortnight,[57] & have thought the practice rather serviceable in some respects, particularly as to the old bodily complaint. But it has also serious disadvantages. It is generally considered in the north detrimental; & even here common parlance styles it *un vicio*[58] although so universal. If a medicine & experiment of the disuse be clearly injurious to my health I can return to it.

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[56] Córdova, *Memorias*, 6: 286: great drought from January to May, 1832; Guayama fire on April 11.
[57] That is, started smoking on arrival at Puerto Rico.
[58] Spanish - a vice.

19 April. Went in a boat with Mr Mason & Mr Watlington to Plantage.[59]

Mem. Conversation on Picton[60], his conduct at Trinidad, St Sebastian, Waterloo.

Breakfasted at Plantage. This estate with 2800 acres has so large a portion of unproductive land that only 2 or 300 hogsheads (perhaps less) are made - & the nominal owner Widow Geigel is in fact poor & much straitened, the estate being under administration for the benefit of creditors. The scenery here is not equal to that about Bayamon, which latter is probably surpassed in few portions of the island. They say Toa alta has some beautiful spots & views.

After breakfast we left Watlington at Plantage & pulled up to Santa Barbara, an hour's row; passed the day there & returned after dinner by way of Cepero's & Martinez' estates & took the ferry at Pueblo Viejo.

To day I have seen 3 negroes with fetters & a huge log on their shoulders attached to them to prevent their running away & to punish the repeated attempt, to do so; two others I saw in the stocks, sitting easily but with one foot made fast.

On return to city observed the yards of the shipping crossed – in token of reverence for the Holy Thursday[61]- & the procession is again moving from church to church.

20 April Good Friday – There is an unusual stillness in St Johns to day. The yards of the shipping still are crossed. Doubtless many observe the fast, at least so as to avoid flesh - & perhaps some more rigid – fish.

The procession I saw forming at about ½ past 5 o'clock & proceeding from St Domingo with an officer bearing on a little flag *S.P.Q.R.*[62] followed by a bier in which was extended the image of Our Saviour prepared for burial. This was surrounded by white roses & lights & followed by images borne as on the preceding evenings – of

[59] Hacienda del Plantage, in Toa Baja, across the bay from San Juan.
[60] Picton, Thomas (1758-1815), British general, mortally wounded at the battle of Waterloo.
[61] As explained in Hostos, Adolfo de, *Historia de San Juan ciudad murada*. San Juan: ICP, 1966: 351, the ships' yards (horizontal beams from which sails were hung) were tied at odd angles to the masts.
[62] Latin - abbreviation for *Senatus populusque romanum* – the Senate and people of Rome.

Mary & John & Mary Magdalen, - with solemn music & muffled drums– Those who lead & follow the fashion were mostly dressed in black to day, even with black silk handkerchiefs for cravats.[63]

21 April. At 10 A.M. the bells rang & guns & squibs were fired in every direction, & here & there a shout was heard of *gloria* or *victoria* it being conceived by the Catholics here that at this hour Jesus Christ returned to life.

22 April – Sunday Staid in the city & had a day of rest & refreshment bodily & mental. Read Stewart's *Journal* entertaining.

Charles excels by natural manner & independence without ambition of phrase &c or extreme desire to appear all knowing. William in prompt devoted attention & in continued application & endeavor, with perhaps erroneous generalizing notions & want of stable consolations. Ralph Waldo in good temper & good faith.

Magnesia mixed to consistence of jelly taken teasp. || [2] per hour for a few days

Acquisitions to be made. Clearer view of relation to Divinity and to his son & the intention of my own being. More equable temperance, more equable cheerfulness, more equable health. More promptitude in decision, proper system of study and discipline in view of present strength & necessities. Learn to bear & forbear & learn to practice the *μήδεν αγαν*.[64]

Learn to express quickly or currently what is conceived by not speaking '*de ignotis*' & *sine causa*[65] & to execute in composition more rapidly if possible, by attaining clear view of end sought and then disregarding tempting flowers & quaint [unclear word].

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[63] See Martínez-Fernández, *Frontiers, Plantations, and Walled Cities*, p. 48: Good Friday was the one day of the year when congregations spilled over to the streets.
[64] Greek - nothing in excess, one of the maxims in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi.
[65] Latin - from ignorance, without cause.

23d Monday Staid at home another day for this is also *fiesta* & perhaps these two days have been as pleasant to me as any since I have lived here.

The reading of the history of Porto Rico[66] & the novel the first for a year, called *The Foresters*[67] afforded me quite a banquet.

Porto Rico has changed much since the historian finished his work in 1786 - but it has changed as a boy changes with his growth but is the same individual in features outward & intellectual.

As to the novel, man is & woman is what the author of *The Foresters* described them & I think the author must have been a good christian; still it strikes me as a mistake to have made that strong minded Michael so quiver & faint & lose faith in Heaven when the trial of his wife's sickness came. I think none could be hurt by *The Foresters*, & few could fail to benefited.

May 1832

Letter to William Emerson in New York[68]

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[66] By Íñigo Abbad.

[67] Wilson, John. *The Foresters*. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1825; [Forester is the family's last name] see http://books.google.com.pr/books?id=qQzrOoCwqHoC&printsec=frontcover&dq=John+Wilson,+The+foresters&source=bl&ots=MXhmJ58WDI&sig=kGwgqEPGoOdoVjLMEAgVsrTk5k0&hl=es&ei=lEhVTeGmF42gtwe8mMHGDA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CBQQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=michael&f=false

[68] MHi Ms N-251 (232). My dear brother I don't remember if Delie has another name other than D. H. If she has, please insert the initial letter on the attached; In addition, please give my cousin the enclosed letter, so that I may fulfill my pledge. Charles must be very close to you on this date, either because he has already arrived and is enjoying your hospitality or he is at sea, only a few leagues from the port of New York. I have written you by way of another ship that Charles sailed on the *Mercator* (Captain Neal), that left for New York on the 10th of this month. I have not heard from you in such a long time that I take solace in thinking that you have been very busy; otherwise, I could hardly forgive you for not having said a word. I have sent you letters, as follows

January 23 through Mr. Quail
February 11 on the schooner *Evan T. Ellicott*
March 7 on the brig *Pocket*
March 16 on the brig *Pocket*
March 25 introduction for George W. Lewis
March 25 on the schooner *February* in which I asked for the cape of my greatcoat
April 10 through Charles's hands
April 13 on the schooner *Romp*, letting you know of Charles's sailing and introducing Captain Newton.

(See the other side of the page)

You have not let me know if you received my order on Sedgwick for the $30, although undoubtedly you acknowledged receipt of my letter without mentioning the order itself.

San Juan 26 Abril de 1832

Mi querido hermano

No me acuerdo si Delie tiene otro nombre que los de D. H. Si lo tiene ponga V. la letra inicial dentro los espresados; ademas haga me el favor de darle á mi prima la carta inclusa á fin de che sea cumplida mi promesa. Carlos debe estar muy cerca de Vm. en esta fecha, sea que ha llegado y ya se descansa gozando su hospitalidad, ó sea que queda sobre la mar dentro pocas leguas del puerto de New York. Le tengo escrito á V. por otro buque que Charles salio en el *Mercator* (Capitan Neal) que dejó á este el dia 10 del mes corriente con destino á New York. Hace tanto tiempo desde que he recibido cartas de V. que me conformo en considerarle muy ocupado; de otro modo apenas podia disculparle por no haberme dicho ni una palabra. Las fechas de mis cartas á V. han sido como sigue

23 de Enéro por manos de Mr. Quail.[69]

11 de Febrero por Goleta *Evan T. Ellicott*.

7 de marzo por Bergantin *Pocket*

16 de marzo por Bergantin *Pocket*

25 de marzo id. (sic) introduccion para George W. Lewis

25 de marzo id. (sic) por la Goleta *February* en el qual pedí la capa de mi capoton

10 Abril por manos de Carlos

13 Abril por la Goleta *Romp*, avisandole del pasaje de Carlos y introduccion para Capitan Newton.

A la vuelta—

Vm. nunca me ha avisado si recibió Vm. mi orden sobre Sedgwick para los 30$ aunque no dudo que V. ha acusado el recibo de la carta sin mencionar al órden por sí.

Aqui no hay novedad que decirle. Queda enteramenta á la disposicion de V. y esperando noticias de su salud &a

Su hermano y servidor

There is no news here to report. I am entirely at your disposition and awaiting news of your health etc. Your brother and servant Who kisses you hands Edw.

P. S. May 8. Since I wrote this letter, I have received notice of a parcel of letters or newspapers which arrived for me in Guayama from New York, which will arrive here in a few days. Thank you. Good by.

[69] Manuscript marked in pencil, evidently by William, with an "X" before "23" and note: Not rec'd have his of Jan, 4.

Que Besa Sus Manos[70]

Ed[o]

P. D. Mayo 8. Desde que escribí esta carta, he recibido aviso de un paquete de cartas ó gacetas que ha llegado á Guayama para mi de Nueva York el qual llegará aqui dentro pocos dias. Gracias. Adios.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[71]

San Juan de P. R. Mayo 15 de 1832

Mi querido hermano,

Hoy recibi una porcion de gacetas y cartas de Boston via Santomas que me han llenado de alegria y estoy tan contento y tan agradecido que apenas acabo de leer las cartas, y todavia no acabo de leer las gacetas quando me hallo sentado para escribir contestas; y aunque U. no ha contribuido directamente en formar dicho paquete y causar dicho contento, sin embargo tengo que pedir de V. el favor de encaminar las contestaciones y con este motivo (hablo con franqueza) hago como lo hacen reyes quienes quieren pasar con sus tropes por los dominios de otros reyes, y mientras piden ese favor conservan mucha cortesía de palabras &a—á fin de no perder la ventaja de transito que desean. Verdad es que no tengo otra cosa que decirle. Noticias son aqui mas escasas, si es posible, que no son en ninguna otra parte que pretende ser lugar cultivado.

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[70] Who kisses your hands; standard farewell in Spanish letters of the time, with only the initials Q.B.S.M.

[71] MHi Ms N-251 (236). My dear brother, Today I received a package of newspapers and letters from Boston by way of St Thomas that have filled me with happiness and I am so pleased and so grateful that I have hardly finished reading the letters, and I have yet to finish reading the newspapers when I have sat down to answer; and although you have not contributed directly to that package and to causing such pleasure, I nevertheless have to ask you the favor of directing the answers and thereby (speaking frankly) I do as the kings who wish to take their troops through the kingdoms of other monarchs, and in so doing they employ much courtesy of words, etc., to not lose the advantage they seek. The truth is that I have nothing else to say. News here is scarcer, if possible, than in any other place that pretends to be cultivated. There is absolutely nothing - nothing at all. I am still waiting for that package that has arrived in Guayama, as I told you in my last letter of the 26th of the last month.

If you hear about any good employment for which I may be qualified, whatever it may be, please let me know. I say this not because I have decided to leave my current job, but because I want to always be apprised of what positions are available and have available an option among paths, to choose the best for me. This is between you and me, as the Spaniards say. How are you and the people of New York? Yours Edw. – I have given a letter of introduction to you to Col. Flinter, who will probably visit you within two months.

Absolutamente hay nada—nadita. Todavia estoy esperando aquel paquete que ha llegado á Guayama, segun le avisé en mi ultima de 26 del proximo pasado.

Si lleguen á V. voces sobre alguna colocacion buena y apta para mí, sea lo que sea, haga me el favor de avisarme. Digo esto, no porque estoy resuelto en dejar mi empleo presente, sino porque quiero siempre saber las ocasiones que se ofrecen y tener si pueda ser la opcion entre caminos para coger el que mas me convenga. Esto entre tu y yo, como dicen los Españoles. Como va V. y la gente de New York?

Suyo

Edo.—

He dado una carta de introduccion para V. á Col. Flinter, quien le hara visita probablemente dentro 2 meses.

May 18. It is difficult to know what it is proper to say when the most horrid blasphemy is uttered by those with whom we daily converse; whether it is worth while to attempt rebuke which might be ineffectual. Some persons here do not seem to attach any other importance to the holiest of beings than that of decorations to their frivolous talk which when they would render either extraordinarily witty or forcible, they garnish with the names which ought to be hallowed & loved.

To day completes the month of abstinence from cigars. I note for I might forget; that I consider the advantage of the <u>experiment</u> considerable although I have not been perfectly convinced by it that all smoking is a foolish or pernicious thing. I have I think gained much <u>time</u> more than I should have supposed – merely in the saving of many minutes & perhaps 1/4 hour's which the smoker must insensibly devote to the waiting for a <u>light</u>, whiling away a few moments in looking at his smoke, & finishing his cigar before taking his book &c.&c. Another advantage is that though I return now to the use of cigars, I do it with a moderated relish, & think that I can perhaps better than before judge in a new trial whether they are beneficial or otherwise.

May 19 Saturday --

May 20th Sunday – passed in the city, reading & resting. Scougal.[72] Cadalso - Bible. N.P. & Tales of France.[73]

Showers.

A schooner went out to day to look about for a reported pirate.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[74]

Pto Rico May 26.

Dear William

Please send this forthwith to Boston. I have yours of April 7 & 18th & expect the cape but it did not come with the letters. I shan't think of a newspaper & certainly least of all of one so much a party affair as the *Whig*, with its odd advertisements. But 1000 thanks for the supply you have sent me hitherto. There's always something good. Greenough's letter was excellent.

Goodbye

Edw[d]

Letter to William Emerson in New York[75]

St. Johns Porto Rico May 27 1832

Dear William

I had a moment yesterday to scrawl out a narrow & crooked line along the central division of an envelope; but to day comes the leisure of the Lord's day the great day of rest of refreshment, when even riot bears itself somewhat less flauntingly,—& the labors that are imposed by the less conscientious on themselves or others are laid on with a more considerate temper, & there seems—at least to me—to be always a moment or an hour on that day, in which to use the cant phrase, a man can call his soul his own; of course that plea of hurry which is so rarely well put in has no propriety to day.

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[72] Possibly the Reverend Henry Scougal (1650-1678), Scottish theologian.
[73] Possibly Scott, Walter (1771-1832). *Tales of a grandfather: being stories taken from the history of France*, published in different locations in 1831.
[74] MHi Ms N-251 (238).
[75] MHi Ms N-251 (239).

I thank you for your long letter of 1 & 8th April—shall I say so long delayed? No, for you have given apologies which are 'good' without proving you to be 'good for nothing'. I fancy I see the modest Lecturer delighting his audi[ence] with just sentiments & deliberate tones, & then returning to his law table half anxious & half gratified with coming off so—much better than he might have done.

Amid the interminable puffs & death-ever-lasting Morganism[76] of the *Whig* too, I descried a phrase of somewhat ambiguous import, to wit 'pertinent remarks' applied in description of some preambular observations to a motion or resolution favoring Cherokees of an eminent jurisconsult renowned for much. My only objection to the phrase is that it generally implies that however pertinent the remarks, they were uttered in so diffident a manner that they could not be characterized as forcible or striking or luminous observations &c.

I am glad you liked the mamey. The Spanish pron. [pronoun, pronunciation?] avoids the pun. But forgive my coals to Newcastle. What! suggest to you aught of Spanish pron? *Me guardaré muy bien.*[77] As to your bill* for the clothes, make it to suit yourself—it will be sure to suit me as well as the clothes, only let us have it & the other accounts in some intelligible shape according to my former request—whensoever you get a leisure hour.

Another name I must tell you is Delaplaine (J. F. & Co.) whose intercourse with Sidney Mason may help you now & then to a chance for sending here. Thanks for such scraps as you inclosed of Halleck. Hood's is excellent for one verse or two—& then *basta*[78] says the ear. I understand S. B's notice but wish I could receive the letter he mentioned. I have written him since. It was quite friendly in him. The treaties I look for daily.

Goodbye—

Yours—

Edward.

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[76] Possibly a reference to William Morgan, allegedly assasinated by free-masons; therefore, anti-masonry.
[77] Spanish - I will carefully forbear, or I will take care not to do it.
[78] Spanish, Italian - enough; stop it!

Memorias á quienes pertenezcan.

* 6.50 for the lot is cheap if you meant so,—& I take it so.

June 1832

Letter to William Emerson in New York[79]

San Juan de Puerto Rico

Junio 6 de 1832

Mi querido hermano

Absolutamente hay que decirle (uso particular de esa palabra con sentido negativo, es á decir, con la significacion de no). Es verdad que escribo la presente con el unico objecto de saludarle, y de decir que estoy muy ocupado. Efectivamente ha sido mi destino de tener una disposicion pronta para hacer lo que creia fuese mi deber y no tengo ese genio, ó talento, sea lo que sea con que algunos despachan sus negocios y parecen cumplir con sus tratos, y sus deberes, sin que les falta nunca bastante lugar para sus diversiones &ca. &ca. Yo por ahora estoy ocupado desde las seis hasta las cuatro sin poder llamar mío ni un ratito de quince minutos fuera del tiempo de comer almuerzo y irme del almacen á casa y de vuelta. Con todo no estoy triste, antes mas contento que quando trabajaba menos; y siempre esperando sus cartas y las de Carlos, quedo

Su servidor atento &a y hermano afectisimo

Edoardo

Siempre quiero saber quando V. tiene noticias de alguna colocacion ventajosa para mi, sea donde fuera, y de qualquier clase de ocupacion.

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[79] MHi Ms N-251 (242). My dear brother Absolutely (and I use this word in its negative sense, that is, meaning no) a thing to relate. The truth is that I write this letter with the sole object of sending you greetings and telling you that I am very busy. In effect, it has been my destiny to have a disposition eager to do what I considered my duty, and I lack that genius or talent or whatever with which some dispatch their business and seem to take care of their deals and duties without ever lacking time for amusements, etc. etc. For now, I am busy from six until four, without having fifteen minutes to call my own other than the time allotted to lunch and to going from the warehouse to my home and back. Still, I am not sad, but rather happier than when I worked less; and always waiting for your letters and Charles', I remain Your attentive servant & most loving brother Edward I always want to know if you have any news of some good job for me, wherever this may be, and whatever occupation it may entail.

9th June A busy busy time has Edward had of it & but three-quarters satisfied with him self after all his petty industry.

Mem. that the fishermen here tell that the full moon rots their fish, while the new moon or a cloudy night will permit them to keep their captive store til morning sound & fresh. Nobody fells wood here in the full moon, lest the timber rot from the excess of sap which is said to be in the tree at that time. All builders wait for the wane of Luna, or the new moon.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[80]

San Juan de Pto. Rico. Junio 19 de 1832

Mi querido hermano—

Acabo de leer las *Cartas Marruecas* de Cadalso—obra muy divertida y de la qual tengo que alabar tanto el estilo quanto el modo de pensar de su autor en lo mas asuntos que trata. Hablando de las cartas domesticas como las que corren entre hermanos &ca - llenas de noticias de salud &a, dice que son las cosas mas inútiles y insabrosas del mundo y que seria bueno preparar algunos modelos imprensos con los blancos necesarios que podian estar siempre listos y asi ahoraremos mucho tiempo &ca &a. Ya veo que tu estas algo en su parecer, habiendo dejado de escribirme con la frecuencia que lo solias anteriormente. Péro si has tomado esta resolucion de no gastar tiempo en escribirme, sera preciso seguir la otra mitad del consejo de Cadalso, (en que me parece reconocer la indispensabilidad de alguna comunicacion sea lo que fuera entre los parientes) y

[80] MHi Ms N-251 (245). My dear brother - I just read Cadalso's *Cartas Marruecas* - a very amusing work of which I have to praise the style as well as the author's thoughts on most of the topics he covers. Referring to domestic letters such as those between brothers, etc., full of news on health etc., he says that they are the most useless and insipid items in the world and that it would be useful to have printed forms with the necessary blanks that would always be ready and thus save us much time, etc. etc. I see that you seem to agree with him, having stopped writing me as often as you used to do. But if you have made a resolution to not waste time in writing me, then you need to follow the other half of Cadalso's prescription (which seemingly acknowledges the indispensability of some type of communication among relatives) and avail yourself of a ream of such forms, sending me some from time to time, with the blanks filled out, etc. We now have theater in Pto. Rico and the first performance night before last shows promise. The company is small, but includes persons of some talent. The building is new: the stage is spacious, the spectators are orderly, and having been amused and instructed by that first performance I now hope to enjoy a school that has the advantage of being entertaining. I am very busy - by day, and by night, as now, I am sleepy, so, Goodbye, Edw.

procurando proveerse con una resma de dichos modelos, enviarme de cuando en cuando, uno y otro llenando los huecos &a.

Tenemos ahora teatro en Pto. Rico y la primera funcion antes de ayer á noche dio buena promesa.[81] La compañia de representantes es pequeña, pero son sujetos de bastante talento. El edificio es nuevo: el lugar de escenas ó representacion, espacioso; el orden entre la gente de espectadores muy buena, y segun estaba divertido e instruido por esa unica vez espero ahora gozar de una escuela con la ventaja demas de la recreacion.

Estoy muy ocupando—de dia, y de noche, como lo es ahora, tengo sueño, conque,

Adios,

Ed^{o} --

June 24 Read Moliere's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*;[82] have lately finished Cadalso's *Cartas Marruecas* & read Adams' *Bank Report*.[83]

Last evening & this the whole city is agog with the horse riding & shouts which celebrate the anniversary of St. Johns the Patron of Porto Rico.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[84]

[81] He refers to the arrival of a company of dramatic actors who offered performances until early August (*Gaceta* 14 June 1832: 284; 9 August 1832: 380).

[82] Molière (Jean Baptiste Poquelin), French playwright and actor,1622-1673). *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*, 1670.

[83] Adams, John Quincy (1767-1848) president of the United States (1825-1829). As member of Congress in 1832, he published two reports on the bank of the United States.

[84] MHi Ms N-251 (247). My dear brother We are now in the season for masquerades. Last week there were horse races on the eve of Saint John, that is, Saturday afternoon and evening. They were repeated on Sunday, feast of Saint John the Baptist, the patron saint of the island, in the afternoon and until midnight. Yesterday, eve of Saint Peter, the entertainment with masks started at ten in the morning, with music and a formal proclamation of the rules that should be observed during the festivities, such as that the races take place on certain streets, end at certain hours, etc. etc. This announcement of orders from the Captain-General, as well as all royal orders when accompanied by music, are called a *bando*. But at yesterday's events, the participants were costumed and mounted in the style they thought most appropriate to make spectators laugh. They started running in the afternoon and thus continued (except for an hour, more or less, when the bells rang in a call to prayer) until midnight.

Today, the feast of St. Peter, they came out again, and having already raced during the afternoon, the people are preparing for the night races. Some ride on a light or regular saddle, some bareback, most ride in baskets, according to the custom of the country. Most take a female companion, or another male behind the rider. The former is referred to as a "cumaracha," a local term, and she is most often a young girl, the daughter, sister, or girlfriend of the horseman; sometimes, she is a mulatto or mixed-race or lower class female, in keeping with the humor and the taste of the rider. Having neither a horse nor a desire to borrow one, I am therefore writing in my room, so that you may know what is happening in the city of San Juan.

San Juan de Pto. Rico. Junio 29 de 1832

Mi querido hermano

Ahora estamos en el tiempo de mogigandas. ~ En la semana pasada habia las corridas de caballos por la vispera de San Juan, es decir la tarde y noche de Sabado. Esas se repitió en el Domingo, dia de San Juan Bautista, padron de la Isla, por la tarde y noche hasta las 12. Ayer, vispera de San Pedro, empezarón la diversion con mascaras, dando principio por la mañana á las diez quando anunciaron formalmente con pregon y musica las reglas que habian de observarse mientras se divertiren, como por ejemplo, que deben correr por tales y tales calles, y de retirarse á tales horas &a &a. Este anuncio del órden del Capitan General como el de todas las ordenes reales quando se les acompana con musica, se llama un *bando*; [85] pero en el de ayer habia una concurrencia de personas vestidas de mascara y montadas á caballo en el estilo que pensaban mas apto por hacer reirse los expectadores.~ Por la tarde empezáron corer y asi continuaron (exceptuandose una hora, mas ó menos, quando tocan las campanas para la oracion) hasta media noche.~

Hoy, dia de San Pedro, saliera otra vez y habiendo ya corrido por la tarde, estan ahora preparandose para las corridas de la noche. Unos montan en galapago, ó silla, solos, otros y las mas, segun la costumbre del pais en banastas, contando la mayor parte

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Every now and then I go out to see the light of the fires that have been lit in empty barrels and placed on street corners, and in case there pass any who attract much attention because of their way of dressing or riding. These are easy to find because of the shouting that awaits them in such corners where there are always groups of spectators.

I wish I also knew what is happening in the cities of my country. But whether because you have been busy or as a result of shipping delays or the loss of letters, I have had no news since April. The comedies that I mentioned as new pastime (in my last letter, dated the 19th of this month) have amused me a great deal. There have been performances of *Oscar*, *Dido* (translated from the French), *Reconciliation by madness* and *The loves of Shakespeare and Caroline*, the latter advertised as a play by the famous Shakespeare. Despite the advertisement, I don't remember this being one of his comedies and I have yet to find out if it indeed is. Nevertheless, it is enough that it has provided entertainment, as have the other plays, especially the one-act farces that followed, to a people who have been lacking in intellectual pastimes. Up to now, almost all their amusements have been limited to games, be these with horses, billiards, or cocks, or to dances. I cannot say that there have not been gatherings or meetings when some have enjoyed good conversation, etc. etc. but I think that this does not occur too often. There have been occasional performances of comedies in private homes, but seen from the outside, I believe as I have said, that there has been a lack of intellectual pastimes.

I received the package of *Whigs* and the copy of the treaty, & I am very grateful. The night shirt arrived right on time. The previous treaty, of 179_, was precisely that whose provisions we wanted to know, and if your office clerk can copy it, I would be very pleased to receive it.

Do not send me any more flannels. They are of limited or no use in this country. I can't even wear cotton underpants, or those of any material. Good by. Edw.

[85] Published in the *Gaceta*, 23 June 1832: 207.

en llevar compagnera, ó bien compagnero detras de sí. Siendo la primera se le llama "cumaracha"[86] termino provincial, y muchas veces esta es una niña, sea hija ó hermana ó comprometida del ginete, otras muchas, una mulata ó grifa ó hembra qualquiera de la gente baja, segun el humor y gusto del ginete. Yo no tengo caballo ni quiero pedirle prestado, y asi quedo escribiendo en mi quarto, para que V. sepa lo que pasa en la ciudad de San Juan. De quando en quando salgo para ver la luz de las candelas que se ha encendido con bocoyes vacios &a en las esquinas de las calles, y si acaso pasan algunos que atraen mucha atencion por su modo de vestirse ó montarse, todo lo qual no faltará de saberse por los gritos que les aguardan en dichas esquinas donde siempre se pone unos quantos espectadores.

Ojala que supiese tambien lo que pasa en las ciudades de mi pais. Pero tanto por sus ocupaciones de V. quanto por la demora de los buques, ó la estravia de las cartas, no tengo ninguna de estas desde Abril por acá. Las comedias que dejo mentadas como pasa tiempo nuevo (en mi ultima con fecha de 19 del que rige) me divierten mucho. Se ha representado, *Oscar*, *Dido* (traduccion del Frances) *La Reconciliacion por la locura*, y *Los Amores de Shakespeare y Carolina*; esta ultima anunciada como obra del famoso Shakespeare. Sin embargo del anuncio, no pude acordarme de haberla visto entre sus comedias y aun tengo que aprender si es suya. Pero sea lo que fuera, basta que dio entretenimiento, como lo han dado las demas piezas y sobremanera los sainetes que les siguieron, á un pueblo á quien han faltado pasatiempos intelectuales. Casi todas sus diversions han sido hasta ahora puramente juegos, ó con caballos, o billares, o gallos, o bien bailes. No puedo decir que no han tenido tertulias ó reuniones donde algunos han gozado buena conversacion &a &c. pero creo que no las hay amenudo. Algunas representaciones de comedias en casas particulares se han habido, pero juzgando de por fuera, creo como llevo dicho que han faltado pasatiempos intelectuales.

He recibido el paquete de *Whigs* y la copia del tratado, &a quedando muy agradecido. La camisa de noche vino muy al proposito. El tratado anterior de 179_ era

[86] Correctly, *cumarracha*.

justamente el cuyas provisiones querriamos saber, y si su muchacho de oficina pueda copiarle, estimaria mucho recibirle.

No me mande mas flanelas. Son cosas de poco ó ningun uso en este pais. Aun no puedo llevar calzoncillos de algodon, ni de ningun genero.

Adios.

Ed^{o}

July 1832

July 1. Read this morning Milton's *Comus*,[87] & may one day commit it to memory so beautiful did all its music not less of thought than of rhythm seem to me.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[88]

[87] Milton, John, *Comus*, a masque, 1634.

[88] MHi Ms N-251 (248). My dear brother,

I received your two letters of May 13 the evening of last Sunday, and I have seldom had a greater pleasure, because I have waited for so long that hope itself had become exhausted, asking for news, news, news, of my brothers. I cannot praise you enough for your patience in preparing the statement of my accounts, as I had begged you. I see that there is a balance of $17.43 in my favor. I cannot deny correctness of the charges or credits because I have no documents contradicting them, but I found somewhat strange to find the balance so much in my favor. I see no payment to the elder brother of F. Dodd, as I requested; I don't remember now the exact amount but it did not exceed four or four and half dollars --- something like that. I sent you a memorandum, and if you do not find it now, pay him four dollars and charge me accordingly. In addition, please send S. Bradford 12 dollars as soon as possible, in payment for the $50 that I owe him; and continue as you indicated, appraising the value of the books, etc.

I am fully in agreement with the idea of giving up the subscription to the *Edinburgh Review*. If you have two French dictionaries (which I doubt), send me one, and if you don't and neither do Waldo nor Charles, please buy me one, whatever its condition, size, or binding. I only need it to write an occasional letter in that language at the office; for that reason, it should include an English-French section.

I find the wicks to be very inexpensive if they indeed cost 12 ½ cents, as the last batch you sent me. In that case I will ask you for as many again, and I would like you to send them as soon as possible.

I very much enjoyed your letter in French, for both its content and for the apparent ease with which you wrote it. Thank you for your kind attention to the Comas matter.

Until now I have not said anything about the independence of the United States. American ships were decked with flags, but they skipped the cannonball salute because they lacked cannons; and the 4th went by much as the 3rd or 5th of the month, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, while twelve million people made a raucus, ringing bells, shouting "long live freedom" etc. Still, we remembered the date.

July 5. Today we got recent news from the United States. I read with great pleasure Mr. Webster's speech on the Bank, and in passing, I can only express how much I enjoyed seeing John Quincy Adams's

San Juan de Puerto Rico, 4 de Julio, 1832

Mi querido hermano,

Recibí sus dos cartas del 13 de Mayo, la noche del Domingo proximo pasado, y raras veces he tenido mayor gusto, en respeto de que habia ya esperado tanto que la esperanza misma se cansó, pidiendo noticias, noticias, noticias de mis hermanos. No dejo de alabar su paciencia en preparando segun le habia suplicado, la cuenta corriente. Veo que el saldo de 17 43/100$ figura á mi credito. No puedo negar la justicia de los cargos y abonos por no tengo documentos opuestos á ellos; pero extrañé algo en hallar el balance tanto en mi favor. No veo ningun pago hecho ál hermano mayor de F. Dodd segun le pedia hacerlo de mi parte. No me acuerdo ahora de la suma precisa, pero no escedia de unos quatro ó quatro y medio pesos—por ahí. Le di á V. un memorando y si no lo encuentra V. ahora, paguele 4 pesos, cargandome en conformidad. Ademas haga me el favor de remitir por primer occasion segura á S. Bradford 12 pesos á cuenta de los 50$ que le debo; y siga V. segun propuso, avaluando los libros &a.

Me confirmo de buen grado en el abandonar el idea de abonarnos para la 'Revista de Edinborg'. Si V. tiene dos Diccionarios franceses (cosa que no creo) mandeme uno, y si no los tiene, ni Waldo ni Carlos, estimaré me comprase uno, sea de qualquier uso, tamaño, ó forro que fuera. Solamente me es preciso para escribir algunas veces una carta en el escritorio, que se exige en aquel idioma; por eso, el diccionario debe tener el ingles-frances.

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document on the same topic. What a "terrible master of invective," as he was called years ago; what an intellect and judgment, clear and sane, this attentive and industrious servant of his country still keeps!

The most recent comedy (jumping here from the senate to the theater) was *The unfounded jealousy,* a good play in which the jealous man who snoops is finally convinced of his fiancée's fidelity, and at the same time confesses that while he thought himself to be a philosopher, he was only an ass. This was followed by a farce, *The wanted beatings,* very amusing. Tonight we'll have *El médico a palos,* a translation of *Le médécin malgré lui*.

Please excuse the handwriting and other defects of my letter, and command as you wish your faithful and very affectionate, Edw.

Thank you for taking care of Sidney Mason's request. Today he sent the acknowledgement to St. Thomas to receive the box with the dress coat, etc. I have not yet received the latest newspapers nor the jar, etc.

Me parece que las mechas son baratisimas si de veras no cuestan mas que 12 ½ ¢ por la ultima partida que Usted me envió. En este caso yo le pediré mas, es decir otras tantas, y deseo me las envie por primer ocasion.

Mucho gusto tuve en tu carta francesa, tanto por su contenido como por la compasencia de facilidad con que tu la escribiste. Gracias para su fina atencion en el asunto de Comas.

Hasta aqui he llegado sin decir nada de la Independencia de los Estados Unidos. Los buques Americanos pusieron sus banderas, pero no tiraron cañonazos, faltandoles cañones; y el 4 ha pasado mucho del estilo en que pasó el 3 y pasará el 5 del mes, en San Juan de Puerto Rico, mientras doce milliones estan haciendo bulla—tocando campanas, gritando viva la libertad &a. Sin embargo nos acordamonos del epoca.

Julio 5. Hoy recibimos noticias frescas de los Estados Unidos. Leo con mucho gusto un discurso de Mr. Webster[89] sobre el Banco; y en pasando, no puedo menos que espresar quanto me dio placer el ver ese documento que hizo John Quincy Adams sobre el mismo asunto. Que "maestro terrible de la invectiva" como se le llamó, años ha; que cabeza y juicio, claro y sano todavia conserva aquel servo atento, e industrioso de su patria!

En la ultima comedia (saltemonos del senado al teatro) tuvimos *La celosia mal fundada*[90] buena pieza en la cual el que hizo el celoso, y le vantó de su penetracion salio por fin convencido de la fealdad de su comprometida, y al mismo tiempo confiesa que el mismo creyendose filosofo no era sino un asno. Despues, hubo un sainete de los *Palos deseados* muy divertido.[91] Esta noche tendremos *El medico á palos* traduccion de *Medicin malgré lui*.[92]

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[89] Webster, Daniel (1782-1852), American politician and famous orator, leader of the Whig party. He spoke in the U. S. Senate on the issue of the United States Bank in May and July, 1832. Edward was apprenticed to him as a law student.

[90] Edward translates his thoughts to Spanish, because "jealousy" in Spanish is "celos". There is a contemporary play with the corresponding title, *Los celos infundados, o el marido en la chimenea*, by Francisco Martínez de la Rosa (1787-1862, Spanish poet, dramatist and politician), but the text does not fit Edward's description. It is available on line at http://books.google.es/books?id=31cf9am4VMEC&printsec=frontcover&hl=es&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

[91] The advertisement for the company's fourth performance (*Gaceta* 30 June 1832: 312) provides the structure of the typical program: *The will and the heiress* (*El testamento y la heredera*), a one-act comedy of manners

Dispense V. de la letra y demas defectos que se hallan en mi carta, y disponga como gusta de su atento y afectisimo --Edº .

Gracias por tu atencion en el encargo de Sidney Mason. Hoy mandó el conocimiento á Santomas para recibir alli la caja que contiene la casaca &a. Todavia no he recibido las ultimas gacetas ni el pote &a.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[93]

San Juan de Pto. Rico

Julio 15 de 1832

Mi querido hermano

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by the Spanish writer Manuel Bretón de los Herreros (1796-1873); *Wit and prank, or the trickster tricked* (*Ingenio y travesura, o a la zorra candilazos*, also known as *Desconfianza* [mistrust] *y travesura*), a one-act comedy by the same author; *La cachucha*, danced by Rosa Peloff; and *The wanted beating* (*Los palos deseados*), a sainete (one-act farce), author unstated.

[92] Molière, *Le médecin malgré lui*, 1666.

[93] MHi Ms N-251 (250). My dear brother

I only write to let you know that I am in fair health, and busy as ever; that the parcel that you sent did not include the two books mentioned in your letter, i.e., the accounts book, etc. which I think you forgot to include; that the cape that you sent me has been made into a waistcoat which I am wearing; that I would appreciate you send the enclosed on their way, and command me as you see fit. From your Most affectionate Servant and brother Edw

Keep this as a secret with an iron lock and key, but I consider possible, if God grant me enough health and the proper occasion, that I will return to the study of law after the winter of 1832-33. There are pros and cons to every state and plan, and I am now more lawyer than merchant, with the limited experience of 14 years not at a desk and the abundant experience of 14 years in school. Without a capital, business does not prosper, either it cannot take off, or if it does, it runs great risk. A lack of health is as much an inconvenience for the merchant as for the lawyer. We all have to make a living and I believe it is more reasonable in this short life to choose whatever calling is more pleasing and useful and lets us use whatever talents we have with greater freedom. A poor worker is very normal --- very honest and tolerable --- but a poor merchant is =000= somewhat less. Think about what I have said and write me.

If I return, I will go back to you. I will go back to complete what the New York courts require, where I believe I have an additional 18 to 24 months to go before I am an attorney. Time is nothing --- nothing at all. It would require at least as much time, here or elsewhere, to complete my service as a clerk, and perhaps even twice as long. In addition, I could perhaps be useful to you and earn my keeping, which is all I do here. What little would be left after one or two years would be no more than what I would spend during a year of unemployment or illness, and here I am away from literature, friends, church, mother, brothers – Good by.

Do not pay attention to what I said in a previous letter about the mailing charges between this city and St. Thomas, because the merchants have already been able to avoid such charges by giving the letters to passengers instead of to the captains of the packets that ply between the two ports. So there is nothing to fear.

Please have the pair of pants that I sent you through Captain Keating dyed. These are pants that I unfortunately stained with ink, and I want them dyed in any color that can cover up the defect and make them useful; if there is no other alternative, have them dyed black, but in any case I want them returned soon.

For this favor, as well as for those past and future, I remain gratefully Yours, Edw.

Solo te escribo para decirte que estoy en salud regular, y ocupado como siempre; que en el bulto que me enviaste no habia esos dos libros que en tu carta estaban indicados—e.d. de cuentas &a y creo que les olvidaste incluir; que la capa que me enviaste ha sido hecho chupa y ya la llevo puesta; que estimaria encamines las inclusas, y dispongas siempre como te guste.

De su
Mas afectisimo
Servidor y hermano
Edo

Conserve lo como secreto bajo una llave de hierro, pero, consideralo como muy posible, si me proporcione Dios bastante salud, y ocasion apta—todavia volveré al estado de estudiante de la ley, despues del hibierno de 32-33. Hay pro y con en todos estados y todos proyectos y ahora estoy mas avocado que comerciante, con la poca experiencia de 14 menos en un escritorio y la mucha de 14 años en las escuelas. Sin caudal el comercio no anda, no se empieza o si se empieza corre gran riesgo. La falta de salud es un inconveniente por el comerciante como por el avocada. Tenemos que vivir todos y me parece mas razonable por esta corta vida escoger al estado que nos parece mas gustoso ý util y que nos permitira egercer las faculdades que tenemos con mas libertad. Un colocado pobre es cosa muy á lo regular—muy honrada, muy tolerable, pero un comerciante pobre es =000= y algo menos. Piense algo en lo que llevo dicho y escribeme.

Si vuelvo, volveré á ti. Volveré para acabar segun las reglas de los tribunales de New York donde me parece que tengo 18 or 24 meses de resta antes de llegar á ser *attorney*. El tiempo es nada—nadita. Otro tanto tuviera aqui ó en otra parte antes de acabar mi servicio de dependiente, y quiza el doble. Ademas podia serte útil y gana mi pan, y no hago mas aquí. El poco que me quedaria despues de dos ó tres años, no me seria mas que lo que gastaria en un año de desempleo ó enfermedad, y estoy aqui fuera de literatura, amigos, iglesias, — madre, hermanos — Adios.

Sí, volveré algun dia, y nunca consideraré el tiempo que he pasado aquí como perdido.

No haga caso de lo que le he dicho en una carta anterior sobre los gastos que incuriemos de correage [correo] entre esta ciudad y Santomas, porque ya los comerciantes han podido evitar ese gasto entregando las cartas á pasageros en lugar de entregarlas, como antes lo hacian á los capitanes de los paquetes que pasan entre los dos puertos. Asi no hay que temer.

Le suplico que me hagas ~~color~~ (dye) un par de pantalones que le envio por Capitan Keating. Es un par que he tenido la degracia de manchar con tinta, y quiero les den qualquier color que pueda remediar el defecto y hacerles útiles; si no se puede de otro modo, quiero que les hagan enteramente negros; pero en qualquier caso que me les devuelvan pronto.

Este favor como otros pasados; y venideros agradeceré á V. quedando Suyo, Edo.

July 21 till August 21. Try your strength in abstaining from cigars.

July 22. Smoked

July 23. Smoked

July 24. Smoked

Letter to William Emerson in New York[94]

St Johns. Pto Rico—

July 24th

Dear William—

That I may not wait forever for chances direct, I scribble a line by way of Philadelphia while I keep a long letter & inclosures to go to you by *Chariot* Captain Keating next week. Have the goodness to send the letter now inclosed to C. C. E. Mr Dodd has never answered my note to him. The postage from St Thomas is avoided, so write as before to care of Davis & Latimer. Coat came safe to Sidney Mason. Cape to me. Tell C. C. E. that another letter or two already written will come soon to him & believe me

[94] MHi Ms N-251 (251).

Your affectionate brother

Edw.

July 25. Smoked

July 28. Sailed *Mercator*. Charged Capt. Lowell to get Es. (sic) spruce for Ann at not exceeding 200 prs dozen or 27$ gross delivered to me.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[95]

[95] MHi Ms N-251 (252). Dear William, I write less often than I would like, but you can well imagine much of what I am unable to tell you. There is no doubt that the hope that I expressed in my poorly written letter of the 15th of the current month may be thwarted, because it depends on my state of health, on the salary I can expect to earn here if I should agree to remain another year, and on the likelihood of finding another mercantile job in the north or elsewhere, etc. etc. Only by speaking to you frankly have I told you what could happen. The fact is that the world cares little about where a man lives or dies if his character is only average; but to the individual, it does matter, and it matters a lot if in one country he could find agreeable people and habits whereas it would be very much the opposite elsewhere.

Now to the case at hand ---here, the climate is good (there is hardly better in the entire world, it seems to me) --- there is beautiful and magnificent scenery, the ocean in its majesty, the mountains, hills, fertile green valleys; summer, fall and spring are always together, and providing a rich variety of tasty fruits; there is a liberal way of life, time for rest, holidays in which no one is forced to follow strict rules but rather can observe according to one's taste; there is much freedom of conduct, and for a foreigner, much peace, and even loneliness, if he should enjoy this, and one can live without knowing or being known. All this is good --- very good; but (a word that means a lot in Spanish) on the other hand, there are no people here that are well educated and that can appreciate the advantages which nature has provided, nor do they seek or think of what is good for the human race; instead, it seems each one thinks of spending the present day as best as possible for personal amusement or advancement; there is much vanity, there is much chatter, there is much laughter, there is much, I cannot deny it, courtesy. There is a lack of patriotism, no respect for the distinction between virtue and vice and little desire to aspire to the highest degree of the former and conquering the latter. There are few interesting conversations on high matters, something found perhaps in even the most humble homes in our country; there is a lack --- Oh, and how much! --- of learned people who pour, like a fountain of clear water, their teaching, their pungent criticisms, their lofty thoughts, etc.

The place of honor that is given in our country (I mean comparatively) to the learned, the wise, the unprejudiced, the hard-working, be these poor or rich, well or ill-attired, is not assigned thus here; instead, it seems that each one tries to obtain as much as possible for himself, and judge others by how rich, fashionable, attractive, titled, etc. etc., fortune has made them. The hard-working gain the respect of their neighbors once they appear to have earned money, without their industry itself earning them such distinction. As a result, there is no reason (or this is not strong enough) to devote oneself to work that holds no promise of money. There is therefore no one (so I believe) who studies, who meditates, etc. etc. There is no class of Howards, Fosters, S. Reeds, etc. etc. There are three classes, 1. those who have a salary or dividends and are happy if they have no debts, if they can live in luxury without exceeding their salaries; 2. those who engage in commerce or any such business with the purpose of getting rich and leaving the country; and 3. those who are neither rich nor expect to be, who are satisfied if they don't lack the small change to buy plantains and bread

Julio 29 de 1832

Querido Guillermo,

Te escribo menos que lo que deseo, pero tu puedes bien imaginar mucho de lo que no tengo lugar para decirte. No hay duda que la esperanza que llevo espresada en mi mal escrita carta del 15 del que rige, puede ser frustrada, pues depiende del estado de mi salud, del sueldo que se me ofrece aquí en caso que me conformaria en quedar otro año y de la probabilidad de hallar otra colocacion mercantil en el norte ó de otra parte &a &a. Solo tratando contigo con franqueza te he dicho lo que podia resultar. Cierto es que el lugar preciso en que vive o se muere un hombre importa poco al mundo, si su carácter no escede lo regular; pero al individuo si, importa, y mucho pues que en un pais podia encontrarse gente y costumbres, conformes a su gusto, mientras los de otro le serian muy al contrario.

Ahora al caso—aquí hay buen clima—(mejor apenas hay en el orbe entero segun me parece)—aquí hay unas vistas magnificas y hermosas, la mar en su majestad, las montañas, collinas, valles fondosas y verdes; hay verano, otoño y primavera siempre juntos y suministrando una rica variedad de frutas gustosas; hay un modo liberal de vivir, lugar para descanso, dias de fiesta en la observacion de los quales ninguno está obligado de conformarse á reglas prescritas sino sigue su propio antojo; hay mucha libertad de conducta, y para un estrangero, mucha tranquilidad, aun soledad, si quiere gozarla y se puede vivir sin conocer ni ser conocido. Todo esto está bueno—muy bueno; péro, (palabra que vale mucho en Castellano) del otro lado, no hay aquí un pueblo bien

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and tobacco and coffee --- and that class is very large, and seems to calibrate its work, with great accuracy, in relation to its needs, always spending and earning without saving a dollar for the future. The future, the rainy day, does not seem to be foreseen.

Let this long letter suffice to describe the island where I am; I would not say as much to others, but I do to you, because you well know that I speak in general terms, and that there may well be much merit here that is hidden to my eyes, being a stranger and secluded; moreover, I trust you, and what I say about my neighbors will not be shouted from the rooftops but rather kept concealed as a half-secret, and thus I remain your brother Edward

The current state of the people, compared with that of other peoples I have seen, seems to me a proof that, divesting man of the living hope of a future just retribution, and faith in the presence and paternal care of God, and the sense of duty to obey and worship Him for His kindness and as well as His majesty, and letting man devote himself exclusively to the search for pleasure and temporal satisfactions, one divests him of the most dignified half of his tasks, and of his power. Man resembles less an angel, and to this we must add perhaps another consequence of the lack of faith, that here people don't seem to manifest any desire to leave a remembrance of themselves, that is, a posthumous good reputation. Good by.

instruido ni que sabe apreciar las ventajas que le cede la naturaleza, ni que busca ni que piensa en el bien del genero humano; antes, cada uno me parece, piensa en pasar el dia presente en el mejor modo posible para sus diversiones ó adelantamientos particulares; abunda la vanidad, abunda la habla, abunda la risa, abunda, no lo niego la cortesia. Escasean el patriotismo, el respeto para las distinciones entre la vertud y el vicio y el deseo de alcanzar á un grado mas alto de la primera, y de conquistar al ultimo. Faltan conversaciones interesantes sobre asuntos altos, cosa que se encuentra en las casas tal vez las mas humildes de nuestro pais; falta O! quanto falta la gente letrada que derrama como un fuente de agua dulce, su doctrina, sus criticas sabrosas sus contemplaciones altas &a.

El honor que se da en nuestro pais con tan rigorosa justicia (digo comparativamente) al letrado, al sabio, al justo, al industrioso, sean pobres sean ricos, bien puestos ó mal vestidos, aqui no se reparte asi sino que cada uno me parece atraerá si mismo quanto puede y lo atribuien á otros segun lo rico, lo modal, lo hermoso, lo titulado &a &a, que la suerte ha querido fuesen. Los industriosos alcanzan á una porcion del respeto de sus vecinos luego que parezcan de ganar dinero, sin que su industria misma les hubiera logrado tal honor. Por consiguiente no hay motivos, (ó no obran con bastante fuerza) para dedicarse á trabajos que no prometen la recompensa de dinero. Asi no hay, (segun creo) quienes estudian, quienes meditan, &a. &a. No parece esa clase de Howards—Fosters—S. Reeds &a. &a. Son tres clases, 1. los que tienen salaria, ó redito—y estan contentos si no incurren deudas, si pueden vivir con lujo sin pasar sus sueldos. 2, los que hacen comercio, o negocios qualesquiera con motivo de enriquecerse y dejar el pais, 3. los que ni son ricos ni esperan serlo, contentos si no les faltan los cuartos para comprar sus platanos y pan y tabaco y café—y esta clase es muy grande, y parece proporcionar su trabajo con mucha exactitud a sus necesidades; siempre gastando y ganando sin un peso para el porvenir. El porvenir, el dia de lluvia no parece anticiparse.

Basta esta carta larga sobre la isla donde estoy; no quisiera decir tanto á todos, pero á ti, si, porque tu bien sabras que hablo generalmente, y que mucho merito puede existir aquí y esconderse de mi vista, siendo yo estrangero, y retirado; y ademas me fio á tí

que lo que digo sobre mis vecinos, no sera promulgada de la azotea sino guardado como medio secreto, y así

quedo tu hermano

Eduardo

El estado actual del pueblo, comparado con el de otros pueblos que he visto me parece una prueba que en quitando del hombre la esperanza viva de una retribucion futura, y justa, y la fé en la presencia y cuidado paternel de Dios, y en el deber de obedecerle y venerarle, tanto por su bondad, como por su majestad, y en dejando al hombre dedicarse solamente á la busca de placeres y satisfacciones temporales, se le quita de la mitad la mas digna de sus ocupaciones, y de su poder. El hombre se parece menos al angel, á esto hemos de añadir quizas otra consequencia de la falta de fé que no muestran aquí ningun deseo de dejar una memoria de si mismos, es decir de fama buena postuma. Adios.

July 30th. Sailed from Porto Rico on board *Chariot* Capt. Keating, - bound for New York. –

Mems. in U.S. –

Goods Study medicine

Mrs. Mason 4 to 6 pair long black gloves[96]
6 small brass lamps for sticking into candlesticks.
Fruit on return.

Arm. Stops. - Ess. (sic) Spruce

Kaleidoscope Umbrella – Cap. Quills & paper. Wash hand stands

Screen for door &c. – Lamp wicks & lamps screens. Table for changing currency into Spanish money.

Ezquiaga's friend in New York de Salas.

Lowell about hops &c.

Write Sidney Mason & John Mason

Seidlitz[97] & Magnesia

[96] Manuscript says "4 @ 6" but from the use on October 31, below, he means "to".
[97] Seidlitz powders (tartaric acid and sodium bicarbonate), Magnesia (magnesium oxide), antacids.

Edward back at home, August – 6 October 1832

Editor's note:

Edward sailed to New York on July 30, 1832, on board captain Keating's *Chariot*. By August 16, he had joined the family in Boston. There was cholera in the city and, according to Charles, "panic" was "very great among many classes of society", but contagion did not reach the Emersons.[98] Edward was able to explore business options (even rejected a generous offer from Freeman Dodd) and see relatives and friends.[99] Nevertheless, Charles' account of the Harvard Commencement and Phi Beta Kappa meeting at the end of August is in the singular, so apparently Edward did not attend.[100] Perhaps he was tending to his mother and Waldo, who were both sick in the summer.[101] He was also near the family during other important events - Waldo's resignation as pastor, William's announcement of his engagement to Susan Haven, and Charles' swearing-in as attorney.

Charles described Edward's activities and condition at this time in a letter to his aunt: "Edward is here buying merchandise to take back to Porto Rico. He is bodily well & mentally just what he used to be—eager to be in motion, full of contradiction, benevolent & pure. He is a very singular person—has great powers & yet wants common sense—this however is not so rare, but his sort of want is."[102]

Edward decided to sail back to the Caribbean from Boston "to save the trip to New York" but, at some point, he also took responsibility for the conveyance of G. W. Lewis' furniture, either from Boston or from St. Thomas to San Juan.[103] Mr. Lewis, the new partner at Sidney Mason and Company, departed Boston shortly after Edward.[104]

William was asked to take care of some unfinished business in New York. Edward sent money to pay captain Keating for the fare from Puerto Rico, still due ($20);[105] requested that

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[98] Charles to Mary Moody Emerson, 16 August 1832 MH bMS Am 1280.226 (66).
[99] Edward to William Emerson, 7 September 1832 MHi Ms N-251 (254).
[100] Charles and Edward to William Emerson, 31 August 1832 MHi Ms N-251 (253).
[101] Edward to William Emerson, 7 September 1832 MHi Ms N-251 (254).
[102] Charles to Mary Moody Emerson, 13 September 1832 MH bMS Am 1280.226 (67). Charles briefly mentioned Edward in other letters: "Edward is very well" to Mary Moody Emerson, 20 September 1832 MH bMS Am 1280.226 (68); "Edward [is gone] to Concord with Mr. Jonathan Phillips" to William Emerson, 26 September 1832 MHi Ms N-251 (262); "Edward is well & will sail this week" to Ezra Ripley (Concord), 1 October 1832 MH bMS Am 1280.226 (163).
[103] Edward to William Emerson, 7 September 1832 MHi Ms N-251 (254).
[104] Charles to William Emerson, 19 October 1832, MHi Ms N-251 (267).
[105] Edward to William Emerson, 12, 15 September 1832 MHi Ms N-251 (256, 257).

the mattress, sheets and "grass hammock" used on that trip be sold;[106] and asked that William inquire from Salas, a New York merchant, about the whereabouts of Jean Leapeyre, a friend of Ezquiaga, a fellow clerk at Mason's establishment.[107] One of these letters was delivered by Winthrop Cunningham, who in September moved from Boston to Philadelphia to open the commercial firm of Carney and Cunningham.[108]

Edward took his leave of William in a letter that combined gratitude for all the help provided, a semi-comical plea for continued and frequent correspondence, and a statement of affection and respect.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[109]

Boston, 4 de Octubre de 1832

Mi querido hermano,

Tengo a la vista tu grata del 1º con su pagaré incluso y hallo toda tu disposicion de mis asuntitos conforme no menos á la regularidad que á mis deseos, con excepcion del destino del *Eloquence of the United States*[110] que tengo prometido á Carlos, como pensaba en haberte advertido mientras estabas en Boston. Haga favor de tomar dicha obra de las manos del librero Francis y guardarla para el nuevo avocado.

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[106] Edward to William Emerson, 7 September 1832 (bis) MHi Ms N-251 (255).
[107] Edward to William Emerson, 19 September 1832 MHi Ms N-251 (259).
[108] Edward to William Emerson, 15 September 1832 MHi Ms N-251 (257).
[109] MHi Ms N-251 (263). My dear brother, I have before me yours of the 1st with its IOU enclosed and I find all of your management of my petty affairs completely in keeping with my desires, except for the matter of *Eloquence of the United States,* which I have promised to Charles, as I hoped to inform you while you were in Boston. Please take this book from the hands of bookseller Francis, and keep it for the new lawyer.

With respect to our correspondence, it has always been a great consolation for me to get reports now and then about your health, your businesses, and about mutual friends, and of the city and the republic, written in your hand, so neatly that I am somewhat ashamed to compare them to my erased and irregular letters; but now that you have acquired the right to receive much more interesting letters - letters from a lady, I don't dare to hope for your news as often, nor will I trouble you as much with mine, certain as I am that you are not lacking in occupation for your pen, nor for your eyes, and certain that you will never doubt the constant affection and respect with which I am Your faithful brother --- Edw.

If Mrs. Haskins sends me her table, having covered all the pine that had been uncovered, I will try to sell it well once you have received news of my arrival in Puerto Rico; until then, it is better not to do anything. I will write from there. Mamma says that you are too anxious about her health, and that she is not sick at present, just somewhat weak but not really ill. She sends her regards, as does Waldo, who seems to have recovered somewhat in recent days; I am sorry I can not see him fully recovered. Once more, good by.
[110] Williston, Ebenezer Bancroft, 1801-1837, comp. *Eloquence of the United States*. Middletown, Conn.: E. & H. Clark, 1827.

Respeto á nuestra corespondencia, me ha sido siempre un gran consuelo recibir de quando en quando avisos de tu salud de tus negocios, de amigos communes, y de la ciudad y republica, escritos en tu mano, tan limpiocitos que me han dado algo de verguenza comparandoles con mis cartas borradas e iniguales; pero ahora que tu has conseguido derecho en cartas mucho mas interesantes—cartas de una Señora, no me atrevo esperar tan amenudo tus noticias, ni tampoco molestarte tanto con las mias, cierto como estoy que no te falta ocupacion para tu pluma, ni tus ojos, y cierto que nunca dudarás de la afeccion constante y respeto con que

estoy tu hermano atento --

Edo.

(á la vuelta)

Si Mrs. Haskins me manda su mesa, habiendo cubierto todo el pino que antes se descubrió, dare mis servicios en vender la bien, luego que tu tengas aviso de mi llegada en Puerto Rico hasta qual tiempo sera mejor hacer nada. Escribiré de alli. Mama dice que tu espresas demasiada ansia sobre su salud; que no esta ahora mala, solamente algo debil y no se llama en el dia enferma. Te manda memorias como tambien Waldo, quien me parece haber ganado un poco en estos ultimos dias; siento que no puedo verle enteramente reestablecido.

Otra vez adios.—

Edward's cabin baggage, according to a page[111] in the Memorandum Book, consisted of the following items:

2 Hair trunks
1 Leather trunk
Package 3 boxes soap
1 bag Hops[112]
1 mattress & bedding

[111] In the page behind this and the next sheet (front and back) are drafts of his poem on leaving Boston, first in pencil, crossed out, then in ink, then again lines in pencil and finally in ink.
[112] The ripened cones of the female hop-plant, used for giving a bitter flavour to malt liquors, and as a tonic and soporific.

1 bundle books

1 keg sugar crackers

1 bag clothing

1 box Dutch glasses[113]

1 box sundries

Edward sailed "on a beautiful brig" (*Agnes*, captain Talbot) on October 6.[114] He gave the pilot who guided the ship out of harbor "a line" written for the family. He also began writing a poem that he sent to his mother at the end of the year.[115] It was published, without indication of author, in the first issue of *The Dial* (July, 1840), a magazine closely associated with Waldo's circle of literary friends. The fifth stanza, dealing with a lost love of Edward's, was omitted at Waldo's insistence, despite the editor's disagreement.

THE LAST FAREWELL[116]

Lines written while sailing out of Boston Harbor for the West Indies.

FAREWELL, ye lofty spires,
That cheered the holy light!
Farewell domestic fires
That broke the gloom of night!
Too soon those spires are lost,
Too fast we leave the bay,
Too soon by ocean tost
From hearth and home away,
Far away, far away.

Farewell the busy town,
The wealthy and the wise,
Kind smile and honest frown
From bright familiar eyes.
All these are fading now;
Our brig hastes on her way;

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[113] Dutch glass - meaning unclear; “glass” could also refer to mirror, spectacle, microscope, or other instruments.

[114] Charles to William Emerson, 9 October 1832, MHi Ms N-251 (265): "beautiful brig", sailing date, line for the family; ship and captain in Edward to William Emerson, 20 September 1832 MHi Ms N-251 (260).

[115] Charles to William Emerson, 7 January 1833 MHi Ms N-251 (281): "I thank you for the abundant packet of letters from Edw. What good spirits the fellow is in! & his poetry, not so poor as I’ve read"; Charles to Ralph Waldo Emerson, 11 January 1833 MH bMS Am 1280.226 (103): "We have a budget of letters from Edward, who writes in excellent spirits & sends mother some poetry made while he was sailing out of Boston Harbour."

[116] *The Dial*, vol. 1, no. 1, July, 1840, p. 47

Her unremembering prow
Is leaping o'er the sea,
Far away, far away.

Farewell, my mother fond,
Too kind, too good to me,
Nor pearl nor diamond
Would pay my debt to thee;
But even thy kiss denies
Upon my cheek to stay,
The winged vessel flies,
And billows round her play,
Far away, far away.

Farewell, my brothers true,
My betters yet my peers,
How desert without you
My few and evil years!
But though aye one in heart,
Together sad or gay,
Rude ocean doth us part,
We separate to-day,
Far away, far away.

Farewell I breathe again
To dim New England's shore;
My heart shall beat not when
I pant for thee no more.
In yon green palmy isle
Beneath the tropic rays,
I murmur never while
For thee and thine I pray;
Far away, far away.

Farewell, thou fairest one,
Unplighted yet to me,
Uncertain of thine own
I gave my heart to thee.
That untold early love
I leave untold to-day.
My lips in whisper move
Farewell to ..... !
Far away, far away.[117]

[117] Myerson, *The New England Transcendentalists*, 265.

October 1832, The Caribbean again

Thursday October 25.[118] At 12 o'clock in latitude of Virgin Gorda 18° 18' as laid down in Bowditch but 18 30' on chart.

2 PM Virgin Gorda west north west

[Rough pencil sketch of profile of two islands, overwritten:]

Virgin Gorda

& Tortola & St Johns Islands appeared about west & by south like a string of hills

[Rough pencil sketch of profile of island, crossed out, and above and below the words:]

western extreme of Virgin Gorda was one hummock of regular shape, Δ

[Rough pencil sketch of profile of island, and inside the words:]

Tortola this wide

At 4 PM. We were so much nearer that the cultivated patches on Virgin Gorda could be distinguished by their light green color, & the other islands stretched as if in continuity like a hill country.

[Rough pencil sketch of jagged profile of island]

Next to Tortola, going westward, was seen St Johns (Danish) & like the former in appearance only of less extent.

[Rough pencil sketch of jagged profile of island]

St. Thomas, 26 October 1832

Friday morning October 26th. The islands of Tortola & St Johns were now much nearer so that through a thin coat of verdure their barrenness could be easily seen & they would give a poor specimen of West Indian fertility. Santa Cruz can be dimly seen to the southwest.

[Rough pencil sketch of profile of island, and under it:]

St Croix

[118] The four journal pages for 25-26 October 1832 are placed out of chronological order in the Houghton manuscript, in a folder before Notes C, which start on 5 January, 1831.

St Thomas is distinctly seen on our lee bow, distant about 75 miles & directly ahead is the French key a rock I suppose which we shall leave on our larboard hand.

[Rough pencil sketch of two islands, a larger one in the background, labeled "St Thomas" and a smaller one in front, labeled "French key"]

We soon could discern Sail Rock well named & some islands in that direction.

At 8¼ o'clock after passing French key & sailing as it seemed within gunshot of a range of low rocks that stand like a sort of outworks separate & in front of the main island of St Thomas, & looking at the hills beyond & ahead of this stony wall, & which now exhibited several patches of cultivated cane ground amidst the dark low green that prevailed – we suddenly opened the western most division of the town.

Soon after the second or central hill – showing at this distance as fair & populous as ever (not withstanding the fire of last December) – not long after we had a full view of the tripartite town & as we entered the port were hailed by a boat & bidden to come to anchor for quarantine purposes.[119] Came to anchor in the offing or entrance of St Thomas harbor where we were directed to remain till the Board of health should determine the length of our quarantine.

The beauty of the port often compared with that of Naples - the grand hills which form the cup that contains this little harbor & the tripartite settlement of the city itself which covers with its painted roofs & balconied houses three small eminences which swell out from the northern range as if for the purpose to which they have been turned,- offered a scene so pleasant as to take away the tediousness of involuntary delay. In the course of the day one of our country men came into the harbor whose vessel must ride 5 days [of quarantine], because from New York. Our own we were told in the afternoon would be released tomorrow.

In the evening I noticed a light in one of the houses on the hill side to the east of us which appeared like a window into the dark mountain itself, so entirely were the other objects - trees huts &c - on the same side enveloped in gloom.

[119] End of notes out of place (Pre-C). Notes Z start in the next sentence.

Saturday October 27 at about 1/2 past 10, we were permitted to weigh anchor & ?(warp) in[120] & immediately on taking our place among the 50 sail which lay moored near the city. We left the vessel in a boat for the shore.

Here I had the satisfaction of finding Mr Mason who had been at St. Thomas 2 days & was to return this very afternoon for Porto Rico. His health has suffered from some cause - or from several causes - & renders even the hospitality of his St Thomas friends injurious so that he gets no recreation from such a trip - but needs rather the quiet of a New England home & the freedom from the yoke & the burden that are all too heavy for him of this world's business.

I dined by invitation with Mr J. Morison. The prospect from his balcony is like a sight from a tall cliff commanding harbor & surrounding hills & the sea for many a league smiling before you, while Santa Cruz lifts its hills directly in front at the distance of 40 miles, seeming to present itself though so far away to the embrace of this its sister island.

St Thomas has profited by the severe lesson which it received in the fire of December 31 & January 1 last, & although not all the buildings are yet replaced which were then lost, yet the material & construction of the houses that have been & are rapidly rising are such as to render improbable the recurrence of similar desolation in the event of another fire. Already so much progress is made that a stranger's eye hardly detects any chasm in the city.

Sunday. October 28. I found in my morning walk that the whole military portion of the people – that is all the regular troops & I believe all who are liable to any service as burghers of St Thomas were on the march while cannon were pealing & drums beating - & echo ringing fro[m] side to side on this amphitheatre of mountains – to celebrate the birthday of the Danish Queen.

I climbed a hill to the eastward so that I might be shaded by the same in ascent & descent, & far from the soldiers enjoyed the sight of the sea as it comes into view not

[120] To warp in - to move a ship by hauling on a rope or 'warp.'

merely in front - but through the hollows of the hills that inclose the port, appearing & reappearing half a dozen times on the south west side.

From one point which I reached I had a sight of the troops performing their evolutions on a smooth green parade ground a little north east of the town, with the sun upon their gay dresses & steel firelocks & heard their acclamations when, as I suppose one of the officers announced the object of the parade.

Returning to my hotel - or rather that of Apollo Miller, of whom more anon, I was in time to see the same troops on their return to the fort which is about opposite us, & was surprised to find so numerous a corps of colored men, of whom certainly there were several hundred, -chiefly officered by men of color but without any regard had to the degree of blackness - many nearly white by the side of others of ebony hue. I believe too that some whites were in the ranks & some were officers in the dark regiment.

At 12 o'clock I attended public worship in a neat[121] & cool church, with a small congregation of whom two thirds were women - & of whom the colored & whites were in equal proportion. We had an excellent sermon & devotional exercises by a Mr Labagh, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church.[122] It was pleasant to go into this church immediately after it had been left by a Danish congregation who had listened to their pastor in their own tongue & now retired to give place for fellow Christians of another language & doctrine.

The pulpit was mahogany, the small organ pine painted white, played upon by a female, while one gentleman only sat in the singing seats & led the music which the whole congregation followed in their places.

Our text was "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world &c &c." The minister a very goodlooking man, & not any the less grave for his white hat, which seemed as appropriate as his black gown.

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[121] Of simple elegance.

[122] Rev. Abraham Labagh, native of the United States, was pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church from 1828 to 1841 and the first to conduct its services in English. After the city fires of 1804 and 1806, and until 1846, the congregation arranged with the Frederick Lutheran Church to use its building for the Dutch Reformed Services. See Knox, *A historical account of St. Thomas, W. I.*, 141-143, and Saint Thomas Reformed Church, *Cornerstones of Faith*, 8, 16-17.

October 29. Monday - I am struck even more forcibly now than in my former visit to the West Indies with the very great freedom which the colored people enjoy here, being far greater in fact than that exercised by the majority of the same color in New England. Perhaps it is the law of nature that he who works, he whose physical power & industry really carry on the operations of the social machine, he who cultivates, builds, &c &c shall by the very gravity of his character possess an influence & hold a station superior to that of the less industrious whom birth or fortune may have made their apparent masters, — & superior to that which they would themselves have been satisfied to attain if they had been obliged to compete as their northern brethren are with whites no less laborious than themselves.

Certain it is that the tone & mien of many a slave in St Thomas - & I may say in some other islands - are altogether more dictatorial, more like those of persons used sooner or later to have their own way or to make others repent of not following their advice than would ever be tolerated in our country where we should chide for impudence or turn out of employ a negro or even a white servant that should assume the control of himself & of his master, so much as it often is assumed by these bondmen & bondwomen.

True it is often only in respect to the modus operandi, not the main task to be performed, that the judgment is thus freely given by the slave but the influence permitted in one case may be followed by a larger concession in another & the prerogative of master get to be almost as small as that of some monarchs, whose inviolability & civil list alone distinguish them from subjects.

The preceding remark might be answered by a variety of instances wherein the whole power is claimed & used by the proprietor & the slave is almost a mute machine in his hands; but such instances I am confident would not, <u>alone</u>, present a just description of the face of society as affected by the institution of slavery, which I imagine will be every where found as I certainly find it here to be distinctly marked by a force of character in the working part of the community which shows itself more or less in a licence of tongue & gesture that indicate a consciousness of influence & capacity in the slave beyond what is manifested by men of the same color in a free country.

Some thing of this may doubtless arise from the feeling of irresponsibility that must naturally exist in the class thus subjected to a course of life which others impose upon them & in respect to which having no other freedom they naturally exhibit all that they can without positive danger of chastisement; are allowed to do so even without a reproof as long as the real amount of their labor is great enough to make the master contented with the usefulness & productiveness of his property.

This day -(Monday) I tried to dispose of some of my merchandize, but found that the market was unfavorable to the articles offered, not because they were not good, but because St Thomas, being known as a free port is most plentifully supplied with almost every article & its tradesmen seek to make great bargains rather than to purchase what they cannot speedily turn into much more money. Demand here is I believe generally rather behind supply, & gains I suppose, are rather occasionally great than constantly sure.

I dined again this afternoon with Mr Mason.

I saw today the U.S. Consul (acting) Mr Hicks a gentleman of pleasing speech & behavior. He tells me that the St Thomas people never had any fears about the cholera nor any disposition to impose quarantine on account of it; but the General of Porto Rico wrote word that if St Thomas authorities did not put a strict quarantine on U.S. vessels, he would entirely prohibit all intercourse between Porto Rico & St Thomas, & as this measure would be a fatal blow to the principal business of the latter island, it was thus forced to adopt the Spanish Governor's advice & act according to his ideas of contagion in spite of their own convictions.[123]

Letter to William Emerson in New York[124]

[123] The journal indicates (17 June 1831) that on 15 June, a 24-hour period of quarantine had been imposed on arrivals in San Juan harbor from the United States. When Edward arrived in St. Thomas on 26 October 1832, a 24-hour quarantine was also imposed, but when, a week later, he arrived in San Juan from St. Thomas, the ship was placed on a 48-hour quarantine.

[124] MHi Ms N-251 (269). My dear William, I have the honor--- that is, the pleasure of greeting you once more. I am followed, or rather preceded by your kindness, wherever I go. Here, for example, on the day I landed, I went to the office of Reed Whitmore & Co. and found a small package of newspapers and sulphur wicks which those gentlemen were supposed to send me, having gotten them from you, and I am grateful for the favor.

Yesterday being the birthday of the Danish Queen, there was much gunpowder and military fanfare, cannons, drums, etc. from which the sound, received and repeated by the mountains around the town and port

San Tomas. 29 de Octubre de 1832

Mi querido Guillermo,

Tengo el honor – es decir el gusto saludarte otra vez. Me hallo seguido, mas bien prevenido por tu bondad, donde quiera que me voy. Aqui, por ejemplo, el primer dia que puse pie en tierra, entré el escritorio de Reed Whitmore & Co., y encontré un bultito de gacetas y mechas fosforica que esos señores tenian que enviarme habiendolos recibido de ti, y estoy agradecido por dicho favor.

Ayer siendo dia aniversario del nacimiento de la reina Danesa, hubo muchisima polvora y bulla militar, cañones, tambores &a. de los cuales el sonido recibido y repetido por las montañas al rededor del pueblo y puerto este hicieron que el Domingo parecia muy diferente del mismo dia quando lo pasé ultimamente en New England. Pero todo se acabó antes de las nueve de la mañana, y solamente se tiró cañones otra vez a mediodia. A mediodia fue á la Iglesia y oi predicar á un Sr. Labagh de la secta llamada Holandesa reformada, quien nos dió un sermon muy bueno; y lo que me gustó era el espectaculo de una sociedad Danesa que salió despues de oir su clerico entre X y XII y nos dio lugar para escuchar al pastor Ingles, en el mismo edificio con diferente doctrina.

No debo olvidar que tuvé el gusto de encontrar aqui mi principal Sidney Mason quien habiendo ya estado dos dias en Santomas salió para Puerto Rico la tarde del dia en que llegué.

Las circonstancias de nuestro viage eran sumamente agradables—Capitan, pasagero, marineros, cocinero dispensador, todos hicieron sus papeles maravillosamente bien.

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made the Sunday seem very different from the same day which I spent recently in New England. But everything was over before nine in the morning, and there was gunfire only once again at noon. At noon I went to church and I heard a Mr. Labagh from a sect called Dutch Reformed, who delivered us a very good sermon; and what I liked was the spectacle of a Danish society that left after having heard their clergyman between 10 and 12 and allowed us to hear the English pastor, in the same building but with a different doctrine.

I must not forget that here I had the pleasure of meeting my principal, Sidney Mason, who, having already spent two days in St Thomas, left for Puerto Rico the afternoon of the day I arrived.

The circumstances of our trip were extremely agreeable --- Captain, passenger, sailors, cook, all did their job exceedingly well.

Here I am waiting for the proper moment to transport my little person and my cargo to Puerto Rico, where I anticipate the pleasure of receiving your welcomed news when you find the time to write to your brother Edward

Aqui estoy esperando occasion apta para trasportar mi personita y mi flete a Puerto Rico, donde me prometo el gusto de recibir tus noticias apreciadas quando hallas lugar para escribir á tu

hermano

Eduardo

Tuesday Oct 30 I walked early out of town to the southwest for the sake of visiting a famous silk cotton tree - & of all the trees which I have seen I think it the most remarkable the one least likely to be passed by man, woman or child without special notice.[125] Large spreading & gnarled, covered with parasitical shrubs & forming every possible angle by the turns, twists of its hundred brawny arms, it seemed a wooden Briareus,[126] all scarred & maimed in the wars of many years but still strong & well clad with a mail of tough bark & decorated with offensive & defensive thorns, while dozens of sword shaped bushes have come like badges of unsought honor to attach themselves to this prince of trees.

Great would be this earth born monster even if among the lordly tenants of an American forest. How great then, doth it seem when standing almost alone on an island where the trees are very few & mostly diminutive.

Note[127] concerning the huge tree abovementioned, that making my estimates only by my own steps & without leaving the road over which it spreads its branches, while its trunk is within a piece of enclosed or hedged ground, if I recollect right, I calculated 97 feet for the distance between the extremes of the branches which make its front to the road & 10 feet for the breadth of the southern face of the trunk, taken where it is narrowest, that is not spreading out towards roots or branches.

Its bark in color reminds one of an elephant's hide & some of the limbs are not unlike that animal's proboscis for roundness & seeming mixture of strength with an original flexibility or fitness for adopting any turn that pleased, although now they

[125] Previous and later visitors remarked on this monumental cotton-wood (in Spanish, *ceiba*) tree, now disappeared; see Nicholls, *Remarkable Big Trees in the U. S. Virgin Islands*, 32.
[126] Giant with a hundred arms, in Greek mythology.
[127] Moved here from the final pages of the journal notes, Z 41-43; apparently written after the description of the arrival in San Juan on November 4.

seem fixed & rigid. The leaf is small like a peach leaf. Small conical thorns project from the bark at unequal distances. The bush that is attached to its branches, above mentioned resembles the bush of leaves around the pine apple.[128]

Today arranged my passage & freight terms with Dominguez, going through the little combat or game of offering, explaining, being refused, expostulating, persuading & finally fixing upon middle ground in the bargain under consideration. We agreed on 60$ for my freight & passage, inclusive of freight of Mr Lewis's furniture, say all – 113 barrels.

I sold 10 kegs of tongues & sounds [sic] for 50¢ ea. 5 loaves premium salt for 25¢ each, 1 keg 200 sweet crackers 1$.

Breakfasted to day with Mr Davis, an old schoolmate, now merchant here & spoke of auld lang syne &c. He is much the same as when I knew him before, yet I suppose much better, at least I hope so. He is quite kind in manners, somewhat dry & I should think popular.

Dined at Apollo Miller's. A dozen at table. The fare is tolerable, not generous. The vegetables were meagre & no fruit was placed before us in the very land of the sun. Claret & porter were supplied, but our cabin table was more abundant in what a plain man calls good living.

Wednesday October 31. - To day took my merchandize & the furniture of Mr Lewis from the good Brig *Agnes* to the *Niña Bonita* or *Lady Bunting*, the sloop of Antonio Dominguez one of the regular packets between St Thomas & Porto Rico. The mate of the latter would not enter into the refined distinctions of marks & numbers, but preferred counting the *bultos* or packages without discrimination between a sofa & a cheese from 1 to 86, a mode which though so simple, proved ultimately more embarrassing than the other, which requires more minute inspection at first. We had to count over the whole 86 parcels 3 times, before agreeing as to the number.

I brought ashore some pickles &c which on the opening of the sale did well. I spent the better part of the day at the compting room of Mr Davis.

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[128] End of transposed passage.

An old beggar passed who goes by the name of Cojole, & quite an original in character. A very aged & stooping & withered African he has long followed his present business as a mendicant evading all other industry in despite of the claims of his owner. His reputed insanity is his shield & buckler & his generally inoffensive character makes it the part of humanity to let him wander at his own will. Accordingly he begs a stuyver of everyone refusing as if instinctively the liberal handful of silver that is held out to him in sport, or as experiment, he goes on from day to day & stuyver to stuyver till he has enough to change for dollars.

These last he deposits with some trustworthy person (how discovered or recommended to him I know not) & from time to time he will call in his deposits & dispose of or conceal the sums no one knows where. However crazy it is said that he will detect any attempt to defraud him of any portion of his stores, & yet the uses of the same are not to be discerned since he refuses clothing if offered him & strolls about with but a loose & scanty bandage of stuff about him & his grey beard unshaven on his chin.

He once lived in a sort of wooden box by the sea side, which mischievous boys over turned & brought Cojole so near to a watery grave that he set himself to digging a hole in the earth over which he spreads a few mats &c & thus lives in comparative security, like a fox or a bear. On being put into the fort for some misdemeanour he made such a noise that the authorities were glad to relieve themselves by emancipating the malefactor. He denies that he is a slave & asserts his right to whatever land he selects for his subterranean abode: so that he is half philosopher with all his infirmity.

I dined with Mr Davis, & afterward walked with him to Washington Hill, (I believe) - a pleasant eminence to the northeast of the town; the air seemed to me rather foul perhaps from some treasury of manure or other local cause in the neighborhood but the lay of the road very pleasant. The triangular vacant space lined with Cocoanut trees laden with their green & yellow spheroids, in front of Mr Davis's House is itself quite a pretty substitute for a square or piazza & the rattle of the long leaves of these trees is as peculiar as the sigh of the pines.

Mem conversation about Antigua ports being lately opened for a limited number of days & of the letter written to anticipate the supplies known to be contemplated by certain enterprising traders, &c &c.

November 1832

Thursday November 1. – To day I was busy with closing my little affairs at St Thomas & taking my departure for Porto Rico.

I settled my account with Apollo Miller,[129] paying him at the rate agreed on of 2$ per day. Said Apollo is a colored man - native of Sta Cruz, & for a long time I believe, a slave there. How he procured his freedom I don't know, but he has for a long time been the keeper of a much frequented tavern or boarding house in St. Thomas. He has I suppose, some skill as a cook, & may have been industrious. But his familiarity of manners & profane language are disagreeable & his table I have pronounced not very generous. His person some time ago was described to me as being 3 feet 5 inches in height by 5 feet 3 in circumference: a tolerably good hyperbole.

I left St Thomas at 1/4 after IV. P.M. in the sloop *Lady Bunting* (alias *Niña Bonita*) whose captain & owner, Antonio Domínguez is a Spaniard now living in St Johns, Porto Rico, & who makes it his only care to go as often & carry as much as possible between the two ports of St Johns & St Thomas. About 9 o'clock P.M. it came on to rain & as the cabin of the *Lady Bunting* was filled almost to the gangway with goods & baggage so as to render it impossible to pass the night in what was left, without danger of suffocation, the passengers 6 in number, 2 of whom were females remained on deck.

Puerto Rico, 2 November 1832

The rain continued till morning & we anchored in St Johns harbor safe but wet & weary at about 7. AM.

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[129] Miller, Apollo (St. Croix, ca. 1765 - St. Thomas, 1835) - In St. Croix, slave freed by self-purchase, ca. 1809; promoter of cock-fights, owner of hotel, distributor of ice cream. Moved to St. Thomas ca. 1822, owner of the City Hotel. See Hall, "Apollo Miller, freedman".

We were kept in quarantine 2 days, during which we enjoyed good weather, & slept on deck under an awning of sailcloth. One of the passengers was a story teller & kept us awake an hour I remember after bedtime with his *olla*[130] of giants & castles & enchanted maidens, &a.&a.&a. We came out of quarantine Sunday [November 4] & at about noon landed in St Johns.[131]

Letter to William Emerson in New York[132]

San Juan de P. R.

Noviembre 10 de 1832

Mi querido hermano,

Dos horas ha le he enviado un paquete de cartas, que, pues que contienen solamente materia de negocios he cerrado sin decir ni una palabra á V.~ Haga me el favor de encaminarlas por primera ocasion que se presente despues que V. las reciba, sin ponerlas en el correo.

Tambien las que ahora incluyo estimaré que tu encaminases en el mismo modo y esperando que tendré luego un rato para hablar contigo un poco mas descansadamente, y contestar á las cartas tuyas que encontré aqui quando llegué, quedo de ti

Siempre afectisimo

Edo.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[133]

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[130] Spanish - pot or stew.

[131] End of journal at Houghton Library.

[132] MHi Ms N-251 (270). My dear brother, Two hours ago I sent you a package of letters which, because they contain only business matters, I have closed without sending you a single word. Please forward them as soon as possible after you have received them, without using the postal service. You should also send by the same means those that I enclose now, and I hope that I will later have some time to speak to you at a somewhat more leisurely pace, and answer your letters that I found here when I arrived. I remain, Always most affectionate Edw.

[133] MHi Ms N-251 (272). My dear brother, Recalling your welcome letters that I received on my arrival at this port, I feel indebted to such large amount that I wonder if it not might be best to declare myself bankrupt,

San Juan de P. R.

a 25 de Noviembre de 1832

Mi querido hermano,

Acordandome de tus cartas apreciadas que recibí á mi llegada en este puerto me considero como deudor de tal cantidad que no sé si no sera mejor presentarme en quiebra, sin procurar medios para pagar una obligacion tan grande, no obstante que es justa. Pero no: el mismo caso puede llegar un dia ser tuyo; tu tambien puedo ausentarse

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without seeking any way of repaying such a large obligation, even though it be just. But no: the same could happen to you; you could also be away from New York seeking I don't know who in Portsmouth or somewhere else, and on your return you could find letters that would have arrived from Puerto Rico in the meantime, during the same period, and then I would wish not to lose the responses owed.

In your letter of June 17 you acknowledge receipt of several letters etc. etc. from your most humble servant, and you ask me if the phrase *entre tu y yo* is grammatically correct. I reply saying that the *Gramática Castellana,* Part II, Chapter III, section 24, states the following: "sometimes *entre* is used with the nominative, i. e., *entre tu y yo*; but it is understood that 'the two' precedes the phrase *tu y yo* as an ellipsis;" so it seems that I was correct in using it in that case, although you were right in expressing your doubt, and I trust you will do so whenever I seem to have been mistaken in any way.

The letter of June 21st has given me great pleasure, as much for the message you enclosed from Mr Dodd as for your reflections on cholera and the story concerning the plague and the pilgrim. In addition, the tidings about the good success of our mutual friend Weir and of your own enterprises was of interest to me. Your letter of the following day, June 22, deserves my thanks, for your care in enclosing a letter from Boston, and to Mssrs. Lunt, Benedict, Atwood, Dana, and Radcliffe, for their interest in my situation. Should you see them, give them my regards.

Your letter of July 27 informs me that you are the author of the article on Antimasonry in the *American Quarterly.* Not knowing that you were involved in this matter, and only warned that the journal included an article written by you, I went to the Atheneum in Boston to see if I could locate it, and I went back home, not sure if I had; nevertheless, I told Waldo that I would have thought that you were the author of the article on Antimasonry, had it not been because it included so long a disquisition on Egyptian mysteries, that I could hardly believe you had had the time and place required for such research. You can count on your brother Edward as an admiring reader when he returns.

In the same letter you mention cholera again. It is something strange that it has not attacked Spain or its colonies. Is it possible that this may be due to the (scrupulous and) very rigorous requirements of the Spaniards, in their quarantine laws, etc. etc.? I say this because with respect to the cleanliness of the streets and homes, and the moderation in eating, I do not know if they have an advantage over other nations that have been chastised by this terrible scourge.

Your letter of August 1st includes new proofs of your friendship for which I am always appreciative. I am greatly pleased that I have reached such a high standing among your correspondents, and very gladly will I descend from the first to the second echelon, now that you are so fortunate as to have someone [female] with whom the rest cannot presume to compete. Concerning the remedy you seek against slowness, I don't know what to say. I have no complaint against you, nor do I believe others do; so if you do your duty with all, and fail only in not reaching your concept of the ultimate good, the only remedy for human weakness lies in the hands of the Almighty, to whom may it please to make us perfect! I remain --- your brother, Edw.
Tell Mrs. Haskins not to send me the <u>table</u>, but if there is a chance, she may send me a small table of the same style, to see if it attracts attention, and that she should also send me a note of its cost there and of the price at which I would be able to sell it, and at which I could sell larger ones.
Please subscribe to *Niles Weekly Register* and send me the issues, as the opportunities arise, preferably directly, but this not being possible, by way of St Thomas, addressed to Davis & Latimer, as previously, sealed with lacquer: I want it for a gentleman here and will be responsible for its payment.

de Nueva York buscando a no[134] sé quien en Portsmouth ó otra parte, y volviendote, puedes recibir unas cartas que habrán llegado de Puerto Rico, en el interim, y entonces quisiera que no perdiese las contestaciones débidas.

En tu carta de 17 de Junio, acusas recibo de varias esquelas &a. &a. de tu mas humilde servidor, y me preguntas si el frase "entre tu y yo" es admisible ó no respeto de la gramatica. Contesto que en la *Gramatica Castellana*, Parte II, Cap. III, seccion 24 se lee como sigue "(á veces se halla entre con nominativo; v. g. entre tu y yo; pero se suple los dos antes de tu y yo por la figura elipsis)"; así parece que tenia razon en seguir el uso en aquel caso, aunque tu hiciste muy bien un proponer tu duda, y estimaré que lo hagas siempre que te parezco faltar en qualquier modo.

La carta de 21 de Junio me ha sido muy agradable, tanto por la contenida de Mr. Dodd que me enviaste, quanto por tus reflexiones sobre el colera y la cuenta sobre el peste y el pelerino. Ademas las noticias del buen suceso de nuestro mutuo amigo Weir, y de tus empresas me han interesado. Tu esquela del siguiente dia 22 merece mis gracias, á ti, para tu cuidado en enviarme inclusa una carta de Boston, y á los Sres Lunt, Benedict Atwood Dana y Radcliffe, por el interes que han espresado sobre mi suerte. Da les memorias de mi parte, en caso de verles.

Tu carta de 27 de Julio me hace saber que tu eres autor del articulo sobre Antimasonry en el *American Quarterly*.[135] Sin haber sabido que estabas comprometido en ese asunto, y solamente avisado que habia un Articulo en la Revista escrito por tí , fué al Atheneum en Boston, para ver si podia caer en él, y volví á casa, sin estar seguro sobre el particular; decia sin embargo á Waldo, que te hubiera supuesto autor del articulo sobre Antimasonry, á no ser porqué tenia un discurso tan largo sobre misterios Egipticos, que

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[134] Word "no" enclosed in a square.

[135] Unsigned. "Mysteries and masonry. [Review of] Letters on Masonry and Anti-Masonry addressed to the Hon John Quincy Adams. By William L. Stone," *The American Quarterly Review* September 1832; 12 (23): 57-87, available at http://books.google.com.pr/books?id=sNcRAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA537&lpg=PA537&dq=american+quarterly+review+antimasonry&source=bl&ots=zOzLmcu_OL&sig=BXhLibe15VQCO1Kmap08EpIIw8U&hl=en&sa=X&ei=kR5qUNq-H5Hg8AStpoDwCw&ved=0CDQQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=american%20quarterly%20review%20antimasonry&f=false (1 October 2012).

apenas podia creer que habias tenido el tiempo y lugar precisos para tal investigacion. Cuenta en tu hermano Edo. como un lector benevolo quando vuelvo.

En la misma carta hablas otra vez del colera. Es algo estraño que no ha atacado ni á España ni á sus colonias.[136] Es posible que se debe atribuir algo á las provisiones (escrupulosas y) sumamente rigorosas de los Españoles, en las leyes de quarentena, &a. &a.? Digo esto, porque respeto á la limpieza de las calles y las casas, y la templanza de la comida, no sé si tengan alguna ventaja sobre otras naciones que han sido castígadas por este azote temible.

Tu carta del 1º de Agosto tiene nuevas muestras de tu amistad á la cual estoy siempre reconocido. Mucho celebro en haber alcanzado tan alta consideracion en el numero de tus corresponsales; y muy alegre bajaré del primer al segundo grado, ahora que eres tan dichoso en tener una con quien los demas no se atreverán a competer. Por el remedio que tu buscas contra la lentitud, no sé como contestarte. Ni tengo que quejarme contra tí, ni creo que otros lo tienen; y si es que cumples con todos, y solamente faltas, en no cumplir con tus conceptos del sumo bueno, el unico remedio por la debilidad humana queda en las manos del Todo Poderoso, á quien plegue que nos haga perfectos!

Quedo—tu hermano, Edo.

Di á Mrs. Haskins que no me envia la <u>mesa</u>, pero si se presente ocasion, puede enviar una mesita del mismo estilo, para probar el gusto, y que me mande al mismo tiempo una nota de su costo allí y del precio en que podia venderla, y en que podia vender mas grandes.

Hagame el favor de suscribir su nombre para *Niles Weekly Register*[137] y de enviar los numeros, segun parecen ocasiones, preferidas que sean las directas, y faltando estas, por via de Santomas dirigidos á Davis & Latimer, como antes, cerrados con lacre: yo le quiero para un Señor aquí y siempre seré responsible para el pago.

December 1832

[136] It did move into Spain and Cuba in 1833, but did not affect Puerto Rico at that time.
[137] *Niles Weekly Register* – weekly newsmagazine published in Baltimore, but with a national circulation.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[138]

San Juan. 6 de Diciembre de 1832

Querido hermano

No tengo otro cosa que decirte menos esta que si tu quieres leer las cartas dirigidas á nuestros amigos en Boston que incluyo con esta abrelas y cerralas otra vez y encamina las el mas pronto posible, por ocasion segura, sin gastos de correo. He dado una carta introductoria á un Sr. Mr. Fulton. No conozco su caracter, pero parece a algo amable y tiene la cortesia de cargarse con el paquete de cartas para entregartelas en New York.

Tu hermano

Ed_o_.—

Necesitarán otro papel de fuera mis cartas para el Norte; ponlo si te gusta.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[139]

December 6.

Dear William

I hope you will excuse the trouble I have perhaps too hastily consented to give you for purpose of obliging Mr Sidney Mason, to wit that of furnishing Charles with funds for paying Engraver's bills in Boston & calling on Messrs Delaplaine & Co. for the same. An artist here is delighted with the plan of filling the houses with a little engraving of his Excellency Miguel de la Torre's face & between love for fine arts & loyalty we do the needful for him in this roundabout way; sending you the letter to Messr Delaplaine jointly inclosed (which you will deliver when you judge fit either now or when you need to

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[138] MHi Ms N-251 (277). Dear brother I have nothing to say other than if you want to read the letters addressed to our friends in Boston that I enclose, open them and seal them again and forward them off as soon as possible, at a safe opportunity, without spending on postage. I have provided a Mr. Fulton with an introductory letter. I do not know his character, but he seems somewhat amiable and has had the courtesy of taking this package of letters to deliver to you in New York. Your brother Edw.
They will need to be rewrapped, my letters headed north; do so, if it please you.

[139] MHi Ms N-251 (275). The Emerson family papers (Ms N-251, box 4) include the drawing of general de La Torre by Francisco Goyena (1805-1857). The painter received one thousand lithographic prints of the portrait,and placed them for sale for a price of 4 reales in three stores in San Juan, as advertised in the *Gaceta* on 1, 6, and 8 June 1833 (pages 264, 272, 276, respectively).

General Miguel de La Torre. Pencil and ink drawing by Francisco Goyena, San Juan, 1832 (original in the Emerson Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts). Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

demand the money, sealing it or not as you please) & by which you will see Charles must send you the bills from Boston after he has got the work done.

Do give me some trouble in return.

Yours Edw[d]—

Letter to William Emerson in New York[140]

William Emerson Esq—

My dear brother;

I have the pleasure of introducing to your acquaintance & courtesies Mr. Fulton, a resident of your city, but lately an agreeable visiter of this. He is polite enough to take charge of a large packet of letters to your care.

Very affectionately

Your brother

Edw[d] B. Emerson

St. Johns. December 6. 1832.

Letter to William Emerson in New York[141]

Diciembre 11. 1832

Querido hermano

Sirvate encaminar sin correo, las inclusas, _en_ leyendo si quieres la que está dirigida á nuestra mamma aunque no hay nada de particular alli dentro. Estoy bueno y a tu disposicion.

Ed_o_

[140] MHi Ms N-251 (276).

[141] MHi Ms N-251 (278). Dear brother Please send the enclosed without using the mail; you may read the one addressed to our mother although there is nothing special in it. I am well and remain at your orders. Edw.

1833: LEAVE OR STAY?

January - April 1833

Letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson in Boston[1]

Pto Rico January 20. 1833.

My dear Waldo,

I am thinking that if the old rule of *ama, si vis amari*[2] be true nowadays I must be a great pet with my brothers; my affection towards them, perhaps, being as strong as if it had been exhibited in good deeds, instead of arising in so great a degree from gratitude & instinct.

I never read the treatises about friendship which ancients & moderns have written without thinking of our little brotherhood—& when most feeble, most straitened, least esteemed, I feel strong if I can turn my thoughts homeward & assure myself of fraternal sympathy. I don't know why the ancients did not say more about brothers, unless it was taken for granted that these were friends—& so needed not to be set forth in the glowing pictures drawn of *Amicitia* & *amici*[3] in prose & poetry. Perhaps they had got "behind" instinct & common domestic attachments. Be it so—the practical age having come back again, we'll revive the old fashion of brotherly love. But all this what doth it avail me at the present moment, & what doth it avail you, which is the politer inquiry reading as you may be this letter with the sea between us? But as the Spaniard says *que quiere usted*, what do you wish, or "what would you," a frequent expression to signify that all has been done that could be done; having nothing in the way of adventures either chivalric or mercantile to relate, I have filled the first page without them and now I am so entirely at a loss in respect to your present situation, health, intentions & wishes that I can only half speak to you. I am without letters since that of Charles dated November 29 when you were a little better. I pray for you & hope daily for the best news.

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[1] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (218). Fire damaged.
[2] Latin - Love, if you will be loved (L. Annaeus Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* 9, 6)
[3] Latin - friendship, friends.

If you could travel a little while after the fashion of Martiny the French poet, who says, (according to the newspaper) when about visiting Palestine, Greece &c. &c. "I do not calculate on writing much—I go to read before I die some of the beautiful pages of the material creation. If poetry should find new inspiration & images I shall gather them into the silence of thoughts; they may color what remains of my literary career" + +, if you could slacken the speed & augment the volume of your powers by a tour in any strange land—it would be most excellent; but if means are wanting, why the feast & the consolation of the Christian still abide—the faith the hope & the Charity which the apostles received they have transmitted. I will not preach to the preacher.

A new thing under the sun of Porto Rico at least in St Johns has been an American gig. Mr Mason has received one lately from Philadelphia & two fine rides therein I credit to his politeness. Other novelties we have not or I would tell them. Last night being benefit night for the principal actress at the theatre, she sat in the porch & received the *entrada*.[4] This is fixed at 2 rials or 25¢; the Spaniards showed their generosity by giving some, a dollar, others 2$ & so on. Four handed in doubloons, here equal to 19$. This is a kind of liberality which is peculiarly Spanish. They are prone to impulses & obedient to Fashion, & considerate in respect to the necessities of their neighbors, of what class soever.

Love & honor to Mother; the same to Dr Ripley if you see him—to Mr & Mrs Ripley—G. B E. - Mess. Barnard & Adams & families—& keep Charles as the apple of your eye.

Yours ever

Edward

Other letters written by Edward Emerson from January to April 1833 are reflected in Charles' letters to other members of the family:

To Mary Moody Emerson, 26 January 1833[5]

[4] Spanish - admission.
[5] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (72)

Edward *has* a soul in him—no shadow at all though Sarah Alden say it, but a large & glowing soul—lighted up by fits with the flame of an irregular genius, but always odorous with the perfume of a taintless generosity. He is far greater & more admirable than when he was most admired.

To William Emerson (New York), 29 March 1833[6]
Tomorrow goes hence a vessel for St Thomas & I send Paints & cet. to Edward.

To William Emerson, 7 April 1833[7]
Edward may be with us at any moment, he speaks so doubtfully about remaining in Porto Rico.

To Ralph Waldo Emerson (London), 26-27 April 1833[8]
If I remember right I wrote you heretofore that Edward sends us word he does not budge from Porto Rico until July; & that the Fitch offer was withdrawn.[9] And since then William says in a letter, that he hopes Edward will find business to keep him in New York. So do not I. Neither the climate nor the People, make it for him a very desirable place.

To Ralph Waldo Emerson (London), 9-11 May 1833[10]
Our latest date from Edward is 31st March. He would write to you but knows not how or where to reach such a wandering Star with letters. [...]
May 11. We have letters from Edward to the 23d April. He still speaks of coming home after the 1st July.

[6] MHi Ms N-251 (286).
[7] MHi Ms N-251 (287).
[8] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (108).
[9] Possibly an opportunity to work in Marseilles, France, as suggested by Edward's letter to Charles on 27 July and Ralph Waldo on 16 August 1833 (see below).
[10] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (109).

May 1833

May 10/ 1833.[11] Agreed with Mr Mason to remain and to receive the salary which he had offered me previous to April 6 (when my 12 months expired) namely 30$ per month as clerk, with 5$ per month additional which he allows as Consul – say 420$ for year in all, for the present. I asked 450$ but the difference of 30$ was small & he did not think it right to burden the house Mason & Co with any more clerk hire it being understood that some of the smaller labor of the Compting room is to devolve on Carbo who is to be relieved by a new outdoor clerk from part of his duties as "cobrador"[12] my own attention being more given to the correspondence &c. – The present arrangement I think should date from 6 April 1833.

June, July 1833

Letters from Charles

To Ralph Waldo Emerson (London), 1-4 June 1833[13]

I have news from Edward through William that he has concluded arrangement with the Masons to stay with them 2 or 3 years at a fixed salary. I suppose therefore that he will not be at Boston this season.

To Mary Moody Emerson (Fryeburgh, Maine), 7-13 June [1833][14]

Edward, I learn through William, has agreed to remain in Porto Rico for the present—perhaps a year or two—in the house of the Masons—upon a salary. I am sorry for it. I shall write to him to come away & seek his fortune in better places. They do not even appreciate his services in dollars & cents at half what they are worth.

June 13—I have kept the letter on my table till I am tired of seeing it—so mean to send it today. William thinks Edward does well to stay in P.R. His salary is $420 per annum.

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[11] Dated entry from an unnumbered page in the Memorandum book, Houghton MS Am 1280.235 (333)
[12] Spanish - collector.
[13] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (111).
[14] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (79).

To Ralph Waldo Emerson (Paris), 27 June [1833][15]

Sidney Mason & lady & children passed through town yesterday—I saw them. They say Edward stays 3 years longer with them. He has $ 420. per annuum besides board &c. Pretty small? Perhaps Mrs Mason & the children will stay a year at the North.

To Ralph Waldo Emerson (Paris), 11 July 1833[16]

Edward ships sugars from Porto Rico, & plays Master & Consul, while Sidney Mason is here.

Edward's letter to Charles Emerson in Boston[17]

P. R. July 27, 1833

Dear Charles,

'T'was well said, very well said, in my affectionate brother's letter of 6 June, that the pecuniary consideration ought to be great to induce a man to live in Puerto Rico. T'was kindly said, that I should do all that was "wise." I wish I might. I did what I thought best at the given moment. From a given point I drew what I thought a straight line. We are all liable to over rate, perhaps all liable to under rate ourselves as well as others. I used to look on time with an anxious eye lest any hour should fail to bear its portion of the burden of study & labor which I thought was properly to be expected of the aggregate life. From some fundamental defect of the moral physical or intellectual part my well laid calculations failed. I blame no one, not even myself, for the disappointment—being as yet in the dark as to the real cause. Letting that pass, I found myself sick, in debt, and though assured of the attachment of my brothers & some other friends, yet no less so of the inconvenience & impropriety of deliberately resigning myself into their hands to be nursed with their slender means. I found a very humble—perhaps in one or two respects a disgusting occupation, promising to afford me a livelihood. Once embraced, all that is learned in any calling, is worth much more to him who stays therein than to him who

[15] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (112).
[16] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (113).
[17] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (173).

forsakes it, though to neither lost. So having got into the shop when I would have rather staid in the academy, I have tried very hard to see if aught might be around me to divert me from considering a melancholy change, or ought that might compensate in time to come for the loss, which I have felt, though I will not pretend to estimate. I have tried by assiduity to overcome repugnance and at the same time I have kept up a little *corps de reserve*[18] of objections and fancies in relation to mercantile life that in case of a happy emergency, I may use their escort and escape to some department of life where figures, and their constituents dollars & cents, are less thought of than they are in commerce.

However, I was more than half willing to make an effort to free myself from West India engagements, and accepted a proposition which would have carried me to France, where I hoped to season myself by exposure to winters somewhat rougher than we have here, & thence if life was spared, return sooner or later to an Evening at Home. The proposition went into smoke. No other was presented me and the irksomeness of soliciting employment has seemed to me from the little observation I have had to be next to that of soliciting money. I knew not any house into which I could handsomely enter as a guest while on the lookout for a situation. Waldo had broken up, and his lawsuit was undecided. I had not paid Barnard Adams & Co & wished to do so before returning. Sidney Mason made me the offer of a small increase in salary & in his approaching voyage to the United States I saw that I should have upon my shoulders a task somewhat more agreeable, even though onerous, than before, that of the correspondence, and this with other considerations induced me to close with the offer. To say that I have talents much superior to my station I am not prepared. To say that I feel myself exactly in the niche ordained for me, I am less so. I labor under many disadvantages, at whatever mark I direct my aim. I am far from being a strong, active, healthful adventurer, and so I seek my consolation in adverse circumstances from thoughts like those which you have well expressed in the conclusion of your own letter “What matter it? whether famous or obscure, in wealth or need, the great lessons of this disciplinary world are learned by us & ’t’will make little odds presently whether the forms we sat on were of pine or mahogany.”

[18] French - reserve corps or battalion

Still if my very feeble thread continues to stretch itself along over years of earthly existence, as it may, I shall always indulge the hope of weaving or working with it some little sampler with figures & adornments of my own devising, when God shall send leisure and ability, and I pray it may be in my native land among my brothers.

Yours E. B. E.

P.S. The box which you did not receive was put on board the Brig in which Mr Mason sailed, but from its size being a 500 cigar box I suppose was mislaid or appropriated by some sailor. The little one by the *Sally Ann* I suppose you have received. The *North American Review* for July is at hand. The *George Henry* box never got here.

Of course you can do nothing about the wigs. One of these years the Brig may bring them back from Spain where she went from New York.

August 1833

Letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson in London[19]

Pto Rico—August 16. 1833.

Dear Waldo,

I lie not when I say I'm glad that you did not come here; for I have already read [manuscript torn] letters from Syracuse & am to see those from Rome & [manuscript torn] What is the puppetshow of a few thousand ignorant & sensual men, acted within the narrow streets of a single city, whose circuit may be walked in a half hour, whose commerce, police, diversions &c. may be studied out in another, or taking the rest of the island into the question, what is the sight of a few rich vales & woody mountains & waving cane fields & blossoming coffee plantations—with half a hundred villages & half a score of ports & less than half a million of men of twenty different colours & as many tongues—what is this daubed & miniature caricature of life, to the mighty spectacle you now look on! The streets in which you walk, the temples you visit, the rivers you cros[s,] the hills you ascend, are crowded, if not [manuscript torn] the living always, yet to your

[19] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (219), with evident fire damage. A brief note added by William Emerson in New York, dated 9 September 1833, added no information on Edward, and has been omitted.

imagination & memory with the pilgrims, the heroes, the sages, the *viri boni*[20] who have inhabited or visited each spot before you. Generations, ages seem to rise up wherever you pause, & muster in the mental as clouds in the natural sky with all their various magnificence, sometimes beautiful with azure & gold, and sometimes awful with gloom or red as blood.

Already will you have agreed with me that the best guide-book in Italy is the *Childe Harold* of Lord Byron—perhaps less strikingly so in your case [than] in mine, because of your poetical turn, that which would suggest to you the very associations that I was always quick to relish but unable to summon up for myself.[21] How have the ruins pleased you, & how the steep "where the car climbed the Capitol," how the "sire, butchered to make a Roman holiday"? & how the "eye & nostril" of Apollo? & how the grandeur that 'overwhelms thee not' of St Peters sumptuous cathedral?[22]

After all is the human part of the scene before you cheering or melancholy? Shall you preach on your return (for you have declared again & again that in some or other mode you would ever be a minister) shall you preach that Europe is in ruins, that the remnant is so pitifully small of those who have souls & know thus they have them, compared with the immensity of the multitude that [manuscript burnt] & drink play & sleep, unknowing who & what they [manuscript burnt] as to justify the opinion that the new hemisphere was no less needful as an asylum for Virtue than as the retreat of hunted Liberty[?] Or shall you be able to tell us as St Pierre[23] quotes & commends it from Rousseau that "man is good & men are bad"[?][24] Do you find plenty of real men and sound to the core, who think as we like to have men think, & have a reason distinct from the law of fashion & the law of Sense[?]

Touching the word minister which I used, prithee forsake not that particular mode [manuscript burnt – of?] service which draweth after it that excellent title. Be as bold, and

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[20] Latin - good men
[21] Gordon, George, Lord Byron (English romantic poet, 1788-1824). *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage in Italy*, poem, 1812-1818.
[22] Quotes from *Childe Harold*.
[23] Possibly Bernardin de St. Pierre, Jacques-Henri (French writer and botanist, 1737-1814), most famous for his novel *Paul et Virginie* (1787); friend of Rousseau.
[24] Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (Swiss-French philosopher, 1712-1778).

as free and as poetic and as dramatic, and as erudite a minister as you like, but still I beg of you abide in your calling. It is the most influential post that mortal can occupy, the pulpit: & you will be sure of a welcome to it on your return.

I congratulate you on the little property that has been adjudged to you by the court. Tis a great deal for one who has been brought up with nothing & you value yourself on knowing how to live upon a little. I am living still as you see away from home, hoping for a time when a whale of an opportunity shall carry me across the sea again a most willing mariner to my native rock bound shore. I have said all I wished to say & so praying God to bless y[ou]

am your affectionate

Edw[d]

Should this reach you in Europe & before you visit La Grange,[25] [26]please remember to say there that I recollect my visit there as one of the most delightful passages in my life, and desire my most affectionate respects &c. though it is but throwing my pebble, after the fashion of the Indians on the mount of compliments. Likewise remember my regards to Fitch at Marseilles & to Mr Wiggin at London; the latter will not of course recollect me. I dined there once & was very prettily entertained & thought the lady & the girls quite pleasant. E.

September 1833

Charles to William Emerson (New York), 9 September [1833][27]

I have yours of the 6th inclosing Edward's. I think his letters breathe rather a melancholy strain. And what wonder? To be poor & dependant is hard, hard enough. But to be besides a banished man. I'm sure I hope t'will be in my power to pay the

[25] The country residence of the Marquis de Lafayette, where Edward was a guest for four days in July, 1826.
[26] La Fayette, Gilbert du Motier de, Marquis de (French general and politician, 1757-1834), distinguished participant in the War of American Independence and the French Revolution. These news of his arrest in early 1830 may be mistaken, but months later he participated in the events of July, 1830, by which the conservative king, Charles X, was deposed and the duke of Orleans, supported by La Fayette, assumed the throne with the name of Louis-Philippe. Edward met La Fayette during the Harvard Commencement of 1824, and in 1826 spent four days at the general's country house in France.
[27] MHi Ms N-251 (297).

$500 at the end of the 3 years—though I had entirely forgotten that there was any such understanding. But something I must immediately do to live—and what? *Yo no sé.*[28] I thought it possible Waldo might publish a Journal or somewhat of the kind—& I might get some pence by my contributions. Yet I hardly think he will. Scholars I would take, but they hardly consist with sticking by the office. It seems to me I feel somewhat as Mamma used to feel when, in old times, before your dynasty, rent day drew nigh, & the purse was light, & the children asked for bread. And yet I am sorry & ashamed to be anxious—& would not be, but that I think I ought to put my shoulder to the wheel—& I only ask how? Forgive me for this trash—I ought not to write it. [...]

October 1833

Charles to Ralph Waldo Emerson (Newton), October 1833[29]
Mr Mason calls on me & says he goes speedily & leaves Boston immediately. He has a letter from Edward 20th September & Edward speaks as if unwilling to abide in Porto Rico longer than this year.

Edward's letter to the Honorable Louis McLane,
Secretary of State of the United States in Washington, D. C.[30]

Consulate of the United States
at St. John's Pto. Rico
October 5, 1833

Sir:

The communication in which you announce to this consulate your entrance upon the duties of the Department of State was only received here in the 28th. ult. With the same were received a copy of the President's message & of your predecessor's report in relation to the consular office, together with new consular instructions. I observe in the

[28] Spanish - I do not know.
[29] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (114).
[30] Palerm, *Despachos*, 32-33.

latter several directions as to the forms to be used in communication with the Department of State. I refer to Chap. III, Articles 8, 12, 13. No blanks or forms such as are there mentioned have yet been received at this consulate. Allow me to beg that you will enjoin the transmission of the same, and that you will excuse any informality in the statements rendered hence, until the models are received.

There is nothing of importance new in the political or commercial situation or prospects of this island. The inhabitants are now so used to depend on supplies of pro[visions] and timber, etc. from the U. S. and the sugar [and] coffee of Puerto Rico are in such request ther[e], that the commerce with this island may b[e] considered as a fixed branch of American tr[ade].

I venture again to repeat the suggest[ion] already made from this consulate, that if Sp[ain] and the United States should agree to a recip[ro]cal diminution of the tonnage duty (now as high as one dollar per ton.) it can hardly be doubted that our country would reap the gre[at]er proportion of the benefit, when the great annually increasing number of American vessels that visit the islands of Cuba & Porto Rico is considered, in comparison with the small number of Spanish vessels that visit the United States. Our commerce is now taxed to a considerable, & theirs to a trifling amount.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
With the most respectful consideration
Your most obedient servant,

Edward B. Emerson
Agent of Sidney Mason, Consul

Letter to Charlotte Farnham in Boston[31]

Puerto Rico October 6. 1833

My dear Cousin Charlotte –

I am a busy person & quite out of the way of teaching or learning, & of borrowing or imparting aid in any shape that literature wears, whether that of a Review or of a Ladies' Gazette. Still I have not hesitated in complying with your request of July 18th so far as my time would permit me. If the letter which I inclose is fit to print, it is at your service. I would have added more, but it was long enough. Perhaps I may send you another, one of these days. You will excuse the bad writing &c &c. I only write well in the compting-room or when I have to deal with those who mind such things.

Why should I say any thing of your recent affliction? I cannot judge of it, for I never knew your brother J. H. & have only discovered from his letters that he had a yearning after the kindred he had left in New England which seemed to bind him somewhat to me. You will have, ere this reaches you, drawn from all the wells of true consolation & I shall not pretend to make any new suggestions. With best love to his children if in your care & respects to Mrs Cobb, Mrs Dewey, Mrs Lambard & families,

I am
Humbly your servant & cousin
Edw B. Emerson

[31] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (257). Perhaps the enclosure Edward mentions is the untitled manuscript at Houghton (Ms Am 1280.235 Item 350, labeled Emerson, Edward Bliss. Porto Rico – account of San Juan (transcribed in Appendix 2). Sylvester Baxter, in his manuscript *The other Emersons* (Houghton Ms Am 1280.235 709, box 1 of 2), Book seven, chapter X, page 20, quotes a letter from Ruth Emerson (Boston, Dec. 12, 1833) to Edward: "I received yours last week, with one to Charlotte Farnham enclosed. This I shall keep as you request, for she has not continued the paper since an accident by fire took place in the office of the publisher, and since her brother's death, the care of the education of his children devolves on her."

Letter to William Emerson in New York[32]

Puerto Rico Octubre 15 de 1833

Mi querido Guillermo,

Quando escribo mucho á otros, menos motivo tengo para escribir una carta larga a tí. Ademas como no hallo infinito lugar, es regular que me considere haber cumplido con mis deberes epistolares asi que tengo ninguna carta de mis corresponsales que lleva la seña de "no contestada." Sin embargo si tuviera que decir, creemelo, no dejaria de llenar el pliego: pero no teniendolo, permiteme encomendar a tu fiel cuidado las cartas que van adjuntas, y á repetirme á tus ordenes,

Tu mas afecto hermano
Y atento seguro servidor que sus manos besa
Edo B Emerson

Que pensez vous? Qu'il faut que je reste ici avec une salaire de quatre cent vingt gourds apres que l'anneé soit finie, dans le mois de Mai prochain, ou que je me prepare pour un retour et pour chercher la fortune avec la providence pour guide? C'est bien peu voyez vous et si je demande quelque augmentation, je ne saurai esperer de ces messieurs plus que cinc ou six cents, tout au plus. Maintenant je deviens vieux, oui Monsieur, agé; c'est pourquoi je vous prie de me conseiller et depuis je peux suivre votre avis ou le mien, avec toute la liberté et toute la franchise que existe et doit exister entre les fréres. Adieu.

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[32] MHi Ms N-251 (303). Translation of the paragraphs in Spanish and French (the letter ends in English): My dear William, When I write much to others, I have less reason to write you a long letter. Moreover, because I do not have unlimited time, I generally feel that I have fulfilled my epistolary duties when I have no letters from correspondents marked "not answered." Still, if I had something to say, believe me, I would not refrain from filling the sheet of paper; but not having any news, allow me to entrust the enclosed letters to your loyal care, and I remain Your most affectionate brother And loyal servant who kisses your hands, Edw. B Emerson

What do you think? Should I stay here with a salary of $420 at the end of the year, which ends next May, or should I prepare to go back and take my chances with providence as my guide? It is a paltry sum, you see, and if I ask for a raise, I cannot hope from these gentlemen more than 5 or 6 hundred, at most. I am now getting old (yes sir, aged); that is why I beg for your advice, after which I will follow yours or mine, with all the liberty and frankness that exists and should exist between brothers. Good by. Tell Dodd that I will no longer need the items I wanted him to send. The woman has died, for whom I ordered the mattress, and the other things are unimportant at present. Please give him my thanks. With the next certain opportunity, send me a pair of elastic rubber suspenders provided they don't cost more than 1.50 and if they are better than the usual ones that one buys for 50 cents. In any case, send me a pair, whatever they may be; and also half a dozen boxes of phosphoric matches. Place them in the same parcel as the medical journal but keep them separate so that the latter is not damaged if the bottles break.

Dis á Dodd que je n'ai plus besoin des choses que j'avois voulu qu'il me envoyat. La femme est morte pour laquelle je desirois le matelas et les autres choses n'importent point á present. Donnelui toujours mes complimens. Par la premier occasion sure envoie moi une pair de "suspenders" de gomme elastique s'ils ne coutent pas plus que 1.50 et s'ils sont meilleurs que ceux ordinaires qu'on achete á 50¢. Toujours envoie moi une paire de quelque chosse que ce soit: et aussi une demidouzaine des boites des allumettes phosphoriques. Mets les dans le même paquet avec le journal medical, mais aussi separément que celui ci ne souffre pas si se rompent les bouteilles.

Please send me for a friend one pair of turtle shell spectacles green glasses concave No 15. and note price paid if possible selecting such a pair as will fit a common sized head as I have not the measure and that can be made to fit a size more or less large by any common workman here. The color is not given me with any more precision: common green.

Dear William Last night I wrote the within & today October 16 received your's of 7th September & note all you say – about journal &c. I return the Spanish that you may see the emendations, but I was amazed at your progress: not aware of your having begun the study. Yours E. -

Edward's Letter to William Emerson in New York[33]

[33] MHi Ms N-251 (300). Dear William, I have your letters of August 3 and July 20 in my possession and they deserve my thanks. The parcel containing Coxe and the medical journal of Philadelphia arrived well, and is already paid. Your current account showing a balance in my favor (a rare thing) of 7.55 minus $1 for the omitted cost of the "Diary of a Physician," that is, 6.55, I find very satisfactory. Regarding the promissory note of $49.13, you should not be at all concerned, because this amount is not mine but rather Waldo's, in

Puerto Rico Setiembre 29 de 1833 [to 17 October, see below]

Querido Guillermo,

Tus gratas del 3 Agosto y 20 Julio quedan en mi poder y merecen mis gracias. El bulto que contenia Coxe y el número del Jornal Medical de Philadelphia[34] llegó bien, y está pagado ya. Tu cuenta corriente que muestra balance á mi favor (qué cosa rara) de 7.55 menos 1$ por valor omitido del "Diario de un Medico" es decir de 6.55, hallo muy satisfactoria. Respeto al pagaré de $49.13, no debes darte el mas minimo cuidado, porque no me pertenece á mi aquel valor, sino á Waldo, á cuyo favor endosé dicho

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whose favor I endorsed the note and he credited me the sum, so that until he finds himself in need, I think it will not be necessary to pay him.

The "Diary of a Physician" has not turned up yet. Later, once I know for sure that it will not come, I will order it again. I trust you entirely, that you will not stop sending regularly the issues of the medical journal as you do with those of *Niles*.

Concerning my profits and losses, because I still have some of the merchandise that I brought from the north such as hat, umbrella, etc., I cannot tell you exactly, but I have no reason to regret having embarked on that small enterprise. If I had the means, I would have no qualms about beginning to trade goods between Puerto Rico and the United States, making two or three trips or more a year. But I will bide my time and take heed. I do not like to remain a clerk as I am now, nor can I consent to it, earning a measly salary in a foreign country--- working with no personal benefit, other than that which each person has in fulfilling his duty. No, Sir, I cannot take much more of this medicine, for so I have considered it, to live far from my best, my only friends, without seeing in this absence another profit than prolonging an existence of such limited profit. If another employment opportunity does not arise after Mr. Sidney Mason's return frees me from the duties that engage me at present, and after I see a replacement at my desk, I will try to remain a bit in his employ, on condition that they assign me to travel throughout the island or allow me leave to return north once a year, or in some way change the very sad uniformity that disheartens a man who lives, writes, eats, sleeps, etc. following the dictates, thoughts, stomach, etc., of others. This letter is somewhat of a soliloquy, and I would appreciate that you read it as such. Charles has done well, and I am pleased. Marry soon, and have a good time. Regards to my friends. Good by Edw.

October 17

Dear William: Day before yesterday I wrote you a short letter, more to send you letters addressed to others than with the object of writing you more fully. At the same time, I had in my possession the preceding letter, which I now hasten to send you, begging you to forgive my tardiness. I must also tell you that mine of the 15th of the current month acknowledged the receipt of yours of the 7th of last month; in addition, I must point out the absence of the issue of the medical journal for the month of August, which I assume is the one Francis's clerk mailed, and as he did not post that package properly, if the issue does not arrive within the next month, I feel I should complain to him. It was always his duty to give it to you, is that not the case? I cannot let the doctor down, nor should we bear the cost of the loss. Only luck will bring it to me, in which case I will let you know. Let us wait another month. I have not received *Niles Register* for a long time.

I requested several items in my note of day before yesterday, counting on your kindness in purchasing suspender, wicks (you can send the old phosphoric wicks, or those of another type, as you see fit) and what I repeat for being more important, turtle shell glasses with a number 15 green concave glass, for a medium-sized head. If the cost exceeds, as is likely, the balance in my favor, do not hesitate to charge me, sending everything as soon as possible, and asking what you will of your very affectionate Edw.

[34] Possibly the *Philadelphia Journal of Medical and Physical Sciences*, now called *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences*.

pagaré, y me abonó en cuenta el montante, asi que hasta que él se halle apurado, creo que no será menester pagarle.

"El diario del Medico" no ha parecido todavia. Luego, despues de saber por cierto que no ha de venir, repetiré la orden. Pongo toda mi confianza en ti, que no dejarás de enviar en su curso regular los números del Jornal Medical como sueles hacerlo con los de *Niles*.

Sobre mis perdidas y ganancias, como tengo todavia algunos efectos existentes de la pacotilla[35] que traje del Norte como sombrero, paraguas &ca. No puedo contestarte muy exactamente pero no tengo motivo para sentir haber me metido en aquella pequeña empresa. Si tuviera medios no tendria inconveniente ninguno en empezar el trafico entre Puerto Rico y los Estados Unidos, haciendo dos o tres viajes ó mas cada año. Pero aguardo ocasiones y les obedeceré. No me gusta quedar dependiente como ahora, ni puedo consentir en ello, tirando un sueldo mezquino en un pais estrangero—trabajando sin interes propio, menos el que cada uno toma en cumplir bien con su deber. No, Señor, no puedo tomar mucho mas de esta medicina, pues asi lo he considerado, de vivir lejos de mis mejores, mis unicos amigos, sin ver en esta ausencia otra utilidad que la de prolongar una existencia de tan corta utilidad. Si no se me proporciona otra colocación despues que la vuelta de Mr Sidney Mason me libre de la obligacion que me detiene ahora, y despues que veo mi lugar suplido en el escritorio, trataré de quedar un poco en su empleo bajo la condición que me han de emplear en viages en la Ysla ó que me han de conceder licencia de volver una vez cada año al Norte, ó en algun modo variar la uniformidad tan triste que abate á un hombre que vive, escribe, come, duerme, &c, segun la regla, el pensamiento, el estomago &ca. de otros. Esta carta es como un soliloquio, y estimaria la mirares asi.
Carlos ha hecho bien; y me alegro. Casate pronto y pasalo bien. Memorias á mis amigos.
Adios

Ed^{o}

Octubre 17.

[35] Spanish - from *paca*, pack or bundle; the merchandise for personal profint that an individual was allowed to carry upon sailing.

Querido Guillermo: Antes de ayer te escribí una cartita, mas para encomendarte mis cartas dirigidas á otras personas, que con objeto de corresponder á lo extenso con ti propio. Al mismo tiempo tenia en mi poder la que precede y que ahora me apresuro enviarte, pidiendo me dispenses la morosidad. Debo tambien advertirte que la mia del 15 de los corrientes acusó recibo de tu apreciada del 7 del ultimo; ademas he de imponerte de la falta del numero del Jornal Medical correspondiente al mes de Agosto, que supongo es el que puso el mozo de Francis en el correo y como en esa entrega hizo muy mal, en caso de no llegar dicho numero dentro el termino de un mes contado desde esta fecha, me parece que debo reclamarle á el. Siempre era su deber entregartelo á ti. No es asi? No puedo faltar al Doctor, ni tampoco podemos nosotros sufrir la perdida. La suerte solamente puede traerlo á mis manos, en cuyo caso te avisaré. Dejemos correr el mes.
Hace tiempo que no he recibido *Niles Register*.

Te encargué algunas cositas en mi esquela de antes de ayer contando con tu fineza en ejecutar la compra de "suspender"[,] mechas, (que puede mandar de las antiguas fosforicas, o otra clase segun te parece) y lo que repito por ser de mas importancia, un par de espejuelos de concha; (*turtle shell*) con vidrio verde concavo numero 15, aptos para una cabeza mediana. Si excede el costo, como es probable, al balance que tienes á mi favor, no duda en cargarmelo, enviando lo todo por primera ocasion, y disponiendo de tu afectisimo
Ed$^{o.}$

Letter to Charles Chauncy Emerson in Boston[36]

Porto Rico October 29. 1833.

My dear Charles

How shall I answer your unusually liberal favors of the 2^{d}, 9th & 17th ultimo, three long letters received at once on the 26th current. Nothing but old Doctor Method can avail in a case so urgent; & so I will begin with the oldest state. You tell of Cambridge & of

[36] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (174).

the eloquence of the untiring Everett as we may well call him. To all that relates to literature & its triumphs you will ever find me I trust a ready listener. The milk of Alma Mater has gone into my blood & will course about the heart, till "the wheel is broken at the cistern."[37] But you must not expect no echo from Porto Rico to such intelligence. We have no returns to make (to use a mercantile phrase) for news of science or letters. I have attended no Commencement; & the oratory to be heard in the Compting house, or the street is all to which I have access. This colloquial discourse is indeed at times marked with enough of shrewdness & at others with enough of invective; but it dwells on petty interests, in the one case or in the other expires in vociferation,—*vox et preterea nihil*[38].

But how can you say 'give us to act' &c. you who are of the new philosophy, you who know that each visit, each expression in conversation, each thought, I had almost said and may say, is action,—how can you dare on the broad & carpeted stage whereon you stand, to mutter the words of 'obscurity & silence' & prate forsooth of safety & content. I know what you mean though, & perhaps ought hardly dispute the merit of your most magnanimous acquiescence; still I who am growing old, look at the forced resignation which you exhibit as somewhat too soon put on. Were you compelled to act, as many are, to the exclusion of opportunity for study & meditation, I am quite sure you would yearn after the hours of leisure, the choice of pursuit, the free air of speculation which you now enjoy. True there is no income from these quiet & sober modes of action; you don't get beforehanded[39], you don't buy your wedding dress with the acquisitions now made, but you can't be blind (though they say Love is) nor fail to observe that the greatest of obstacles to a young man's peaceful & successful progress is overcome, not when he is married, but when he is well engaged. I leave you to follow out the how & why. They will show themselves to you readily.

Now to your letter of the 9th. This is in part supplementary or complementary (if I make the word no matter) to the one I was lecturing upon. You here grow little more practical. As to the 500$ the creditor's memory is assuredly correct. He asked the learned

[37] Ecclesiastes 12: 6.
[38] Latin – a voice and nothing more.
[39] To have more than sufficient to meet present or future demands

attorney at law on the day of the loan, in how many years he thought he could return such a sum; the reply was 3: & the subject so understood. But you appear to have misunderstood something that I said about drawing upon you for any part of the sum before that time should expire. I meant only, for your own advantage & security as against me, to say, that if now & then in my multifarious *encargos*,[40] one should come upon you at a time when you happened to have money by you & did not wish to apply to Barnard Adams & Co, you could if you pleased charge the sum you might advance to my account as so much out of the 500$. By no means is it my wish to touch one cent of that sum until the time fixed, & if then, as is but too probable, "my poverty & not my will" shall call on you.[41]

I am glad to see by your letter of the 17th the judicious disposition made of the wigs &c. By the arrangement made I do not find myself a loser, as I received 10$ here for the relinquishment of the *encargo* by the person who ordered them. The articles sent by you all came in good order. The knife is a model of pretty & useful cutlery; & Cushing quite acceptable to Dr Francis Armstrong. If you have received Rush[42] from the book seller, send it, if not, don't buy it, as Dr Armstrong has found one to read. Continue the *North American Review* if you can, without subscribing; i.e. buy & send each number till forbidden. If it is cheaper, however, by subscription, engage it for the year 1834.

I notice your intention of sending me copy of Waldo's letters if time allowed— Prithee send me the originals if not the copies, for you will have him with you by the time you get this. Give him my love & tell him when I learned he was well I felt that he was beyond the need of any of the poor words that I could put together & so I was less diligent in sending a letter; besides that he had I thought a host of corresspondents among his Boston friends.

Goodbye—E.—

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[40] Spanish – requests.
[41] Shakespeare, William, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act V, Scene 1: Apothecary - My poverty, but not my will, consents.
[42] Perhaps a work by Benjamin Rush (American physician, 1745?-1813).

Did not I send you the pattern of a coarse lamp wick of which I wanted 4 gross[?] Pray send them—if you can.

November 1833

Charles to William Emerson (New York), 6-14 November 1833[43]

Dear William—

[...] I rejoice in the prospect of attending your wedding.

Nov. 14. [...]We were very glad to get the letters from Edward. He writes in good spirits. I trust Mason is ploughing the sea, ere this, towards Porto Rico.

Edward's letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson in Boston[44]

Porto Rico November 13 1833.

Dear Waldo—

I welcome you home again; that is to the western hemisphere, to the new world of Columbus, for at least within such limits our straggling fortunes are again united. I received in September yours of 25 May, dated at Florence. My recollection of that city is but faint—for I stopped but a few days, had no acquaintance save with poor Ingham (I fear he was the English gentleman who jumped out of Tremont house window, & last month shot himself in New York) of course had to grope my way in a sort of twilight, moreover was dismally ignorant of Italian history & literature & could not approach Santa Croce with the deep veneration due to "its tombs;" moreover had been a month in Rome & predetermined to admire the Apollo more than the Venus—I was not forced to recant; & the eye had so expanded in the contemplation of St Peters & the Coliseum & the marble tenants of the Vatican & the Capitoline Museum that I looked on Florence as a lesser volume, or rather a less striking picture in the series of which a glance was all I enjoyed. I am glad you had so different an opportunity & such troops of pleasant people about you,

[43] MHi Ms N-251 (305).
[44] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (220).

& you were always preparing yourself for the march to Italy: 'twas na fer neathing' you were aye closeted with Sismondi.[45]

But you are back again & I had almost forgotten to acknowledge your letter of 21st ultimo. I rejoice to see that you again enter the pulpit; I rejoice for you, & if it be not sinful flattery to say so, I rejoice for the cause.

Think not I am paying you with commercial exactness for the compliment about "beautiful temper" though that did not fail to move me; the more so being *a laudato viro*[46] in that regard. You are glad that I am well. Had I been wholly so I think I should have gone home in the early summer. I have that kind of health that makes me a useful man here: but the trial is such that my resolution is nearly taken to return next year, though the chances of the step, as to its effects on health & prospects are quite dubious. You know how I constitutionally abhor, yea suffer from continual sympathy & inquiries about ails &c. & therefore avoid mentioning them, as a general rule, & specially to the tenderhearted: but *ma toux tojours continue; elle s'augmente beaucoup dans le temps de la pluie, et m'incommode quelques fois extrêmement dans la nuit, aussi que beaucoup de fois je suis obligé de me lever áu minuit pour expectorer, et pour me livrer de l'espece l'asthme que m'opprime pendant quelques minutes. Bientot cela me laisse et je me couche encore. Heureusement je suis tres peu incommodé durant la journée, et peus être tout ce que je souffre pouvoit se guerir si je melois plus d'exercise avec mes occupations: mais il me semble quelque fois que la flêche de l'ange s'est enfoncée trop profondement, et que je ne devai point nourrir des esperances favorables concernant ma santé.*[47]

Everybody here pretends to find me less frightfully pale than formerly & I am in better spirits, read & write & work with more satisfaction: so that if you should not say that the cold will kill, & that every door to employment is shut in the United States, I hope

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[45] Simonde de Sismondi, Jean-Charles-Léonard (1773-1842), Swiss economist and historian who warned against the perils of unchecked industrialism.

[46] Latin - [to be praised] by a man who himself deserves praise.

[47] French - My cough still continues; it increases much in rainy weather, and bothers me extremely at night, so that many times I'm forced to get up at midnight to expectorate, and get rid of a sort of asthma that oppresses me for some minutes. Soon it leaves me and I go to bed again. Happily I'm little bothered during the day, and perhaps all that ails me might be cured if I combined more exercise with my work: but it seems to me sometimes that the angel's arrow has pierced too deeply, and that I should not cherish favorable expectations regarding my health.

in the coming year to put all my courage[,] clothes & credit, for I have no other estate, on the way home & try to live (as D. W. said) in firm continental ground.

The flags have been all day at half mast, & the yards crossed & guns firing, one every quarter hour for Ferdinand VII's death, which was oficially announced here yesterday.[48] Tell C. C. E. I don't write him by this opportunity for it may cost him postage, & I am ever pulling at his purse strings.

Love & honor due.

Your's E B E.

December 1833

Charles to Edward in San Juan[49]

Boston December 24, 1833

Dear Edward.

A day or two ago I had yours of October 29th. It was somewhat longer than your late letters, which have reminded us by their brevity of the man of business. I hope Mr Mason has arrived at home ere this.

We are all well in body & mind, we I mean of your own House & blood; & that being the case, what matter tho' we be ill in "estate", which compared with the two first is a trifle. I have no disposition to doubt the correctness of your construction of the agreement between us as to the $500. I remember the words about the 3 years—only my notion was that I took upon me the debt to the lender. I was not considering you so much creditor as broker in the affair. You say you do not wish me (except it suits my convenience) to make any past payments on account, but the state of your account with Barnard & Adams does not yet authorise you I suppose to give me a draft on them for the balance to your debt in account with me. Nor do I desire that you should, but until I am more in pocket, I am unable to advance the funds for your little '*encargos*', & must ask your forgiveness for a negligence as agent to which not my will but my poverty drives me. Were Barnard & Adams once fully paid, there would be no

[48] Fernando VII died in Madrid, on 29 September 1833; the news were received in San Juan on 13 November (Cruz Monclova, *Historia*, 253).
[49] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (14).

delicacy in asking these small advances. But at this time of pressure unexampled for money, it seems not right to draw upon them any farther while already in their debt.

I believe mother has told you of William's wedding. I am glad his weary bachelor days are ended. When will ours too end? Waldo is well & lives where I have been living in Washington Street, & we have pleasant Fraternal evenings there. He writes Lectures for the Natural History Society & Mechanics Institute. Preaches sermons in good mens' pulpits. I too am thought worthy to speak to an audience rustical, & went last week through rain wind & snow to Concord school house to tell the men & women how brave & perfect a life old Socrates led; they listened— especially to the poisoning scene from the *Phædo*.[50] I promised my classmate Fox I would go to Newbury Port in January & deliver the same lecture.

Elizabeth[51] is still in the City & I have this moment a note from her in which she assures me she is very well (I left her with a cold upon her last evening) & sitting idly at home this stormy forenoon. I pray you come home & make acquaintance with your sister, & see if she be not worth loving.

Tomorrow if wind & weather will permit Waldo & I ride to Waltham to Christmas. If I go I promise to drink your health. The day if I remember made no great show in St Johns. I send you Newspapers & mean if possible to send a piece of William's wedding cake.

And fare you well

I am yours— Charles—

[50] Plato (Greek philosopher, 427?-347 B.C.E.). His dialogue *Phædo* includes a depiction of Socrates' death by poisoning.

[51] Elizabeth Hoar, Charles' fiancée.

1834: DEPARTURE

A letter from Edward, dated 14 November 1833, probably reached the family in Boston early in the new year,[1] but they heard no more of him until early March, when they learned he had been ill. Charles then wrote as he probably understood that Edward would prefer, with few expressions of concern and many news of acquaintances. He also sent six bottles each of sherry and Madeira wines (to fortify the constitution of the convalescent brother), magazines and a promise of flannel vests.[2]

March 1834

Ruth Haskins Emerson to William Emerson in New York[3]

Boston March 12, 1834.

My dear son

We have at last, letters from Edward, and as I feared, account of his having been sick – Oh, how sad! That he should have been so long alone, borne down by such a weight of business & care. It was even too much for a man, of firmer health, & stronger constitution than his, to have endured, so long a time, through a sickly season. The responsibility he felt, probably, prevented him from riding out of the city, & taking necessary recreation in the fresh air – till Mr. Mason returned. It was well, for my dear Edward, that Mr Mason arrived so soon after he was taken sick, for with his frail frame, he could not long sustain any violent disease, without sinking under it. He must have needed the most kind & interested attention of a friend. I am glad to hear Mr Mason was able to watch himself, with him, & did not leave him with hired persons entirely. But enough of my anxieties. Let us give thanks to God, that his precious life is spared, & for the prospect of restored health. Edward says not a word of coming home – perhaps it was so early in the season that he did not name it. [...]

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[1] Charles to Edward, 5 February 1834, MH bMS Am 1280.226 (18).

[2] Charles to Edward, 6-17 March 1834, MH bMS Am 1280.226 (19). The letter also suggests that Samuel Bradford, perhaps the "S. Bradford" and "S. B." mentioned in the journal, is settled in Philadelphia, in a context that suggests that he has recovered from illness and can withstand that city's climate.

[3] MHi, Ms N-251(315).

If you get any news from Porto Rico, you will forward it with speed, for I cannot fail being anxious to hear again. Do write to Edward by the first chance.

April 1834

Edward's letter to Mary Moody Emerson in Waterford, Maine,
with a postcript from William, in New York[4]

St Johns Porto Rico April 5th 1834

My dear Aunt Mary,

So you have not yet tired of the solitude of the Vale; nor do I wonder at it: but you must not think that all solitude is alike sweet & holy. You may fill your cup with water and I too, but your's is from the mountain side, and mine is from the city well. Still I am not about denying that even the degree & sort of seclusion that falls to my lot is valuable & at times very pleasant. The old saw about seeing a shipwreck from a safe stand on shore is quite descriptive of the moderated & tranquil (not to say poetic and romantic) interest with which from this little Island one contemplates the distant and diminutive nations of either hemisphere.

The sort of government used here exempts the private man from the trouble of taking any pains about the management of public affairs; he has only to let the state alone & mind his own business. I mean that no man here will be drawn away from the studies or the contemplations he may love, by any patriotic notion of being compelled to raise his voice or write his volume about this measure or the other: no nullification party, no United States Bank party, no caucuses interrupt him. Even the apathy & the no less remarkable ignorance of the people aid in rendering the solitude of an educated man more complete. He will not be diverted from his chosen paths of speculation or inquiry, by any calls upon his time for literary contributions, labors in this cause & labors in that; hardly will he be tasked by one inquirer in a twelvemonth to exhibit any of the stores of

[4] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (182). Postmarked New York, 28 April. Endorsed by Ms Mary as 'E B E / 34 / Last dear letter'.

information he may have accumulated; and the childish frivolity of the amusements of the place will disgust rather than tempt our supposed recluse.

Thus I have often thought that a Dramatist or Novelist would find here a charming retreat in which to mature the productions of another 'great unknown.' Sure I am that Scott could not have lived here 6 months without writing some tale, in which Spanish courtesy & frankness & selfrespect, blended with Creole indolence and passion for amusements would be spread out to the eyes of the world in a splendid picture enriched with his favorite decoration I mean descriptions of fine scenery, droll costumes village merrymakings, and perhaps he would have found some among our negroes not unfit to do kitchen work in a novel.

Nor less favorable would be the retirement for a religious or moral philosopher if it were not too much for his patience, too much for his tranquillity to bear the sight of so general laxity and too much for his skill and power to remedy. Happy if he do not find his own stakes loosened, his own anchor dragging: too happy if he should succeed in dropping here & there a virtuous grain in soil that will receive it, or securing one wavered, by the argument of a bright and pure example. After all it will be still true that the highest heavens of contemplation or as you say 'the mount of transfiguration' will be more acceptable from the side of Elm Vale, than from any city; and the Sabbath must be more sublimely holy when the six days have a sober coloring, than when it comes a day of rest to wearisome calculations and plodding industry, and even itself not perfectly secured from what men deem necessary interruptions.

You ask about my health1833-; it is tolerably good. I was so sick in December & January as to be in bed many days, and confined to the house 3 weeks, was thought to be in danger, but did not myself despair of recovering nor feel quite resigned to die; not so much from a fear of the future, as from a wish to save mother from unnecessary affliction and a hope that I might yet see some good days and good friends in the land of the living. All this I suppose is natural. Since that attack I have been as well as before.

I notice what you say of H.U.H. but do not hear any thing more of her health; hope she will still accompany you with sweet society. Please give my love to all our kin about

you. I may never realize but still keep the hope to see the 'Vale' and the mountains of Waterford and all that is blooming in nature & society thereabouts. Still remember & pray for one who loves his friends, though sadly unable to serve them, and write when you wish to delight

Your affectionate

Edward

Dear Aunt,

I have this moment received this letter from Edward with permission to read before forwarding & I am glad to send you something so refreshing even tho' it cast mine into the shade. You know that I have been used to that for some 30 years, yet am I

Your affectionate nephew William Emerson.

The Emerson family took advantage of any opportunity to reciprocate for Mr. Mason's treatment of Edward in San Juan. When Mason's daughter, Catalina, became an intern student at the Ursuline Convent and school at Charlestown (in an area that is now part of Somerville), Waldo and Charles went to visit the young girl. She was there, it seems, in the company of other Mason relatives and the children of another island family (the Storers).

Charles to Edward Emerson in San Juan[5]

Boston April 18.

Dear Edward—

This afternoon have Waldo & I been out to the Ursuline Community & seen Catalina & her Teacher the pretty Nun Mary Benedick, as she is called there. Catalina looked well & her eye is bright & cheerful & intelligent. She was glad to see us & to have an orange from Porto Rico. The lady Benedick desired me to say to her mother that several letters have been written & sent, giving accounts of Catalina, which perhaps have never reached St Johns. She says Catalina was at first in poor health;

[5] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (21).

with little appetite; eating only *dulce*[6] & no meat. Dr Thompson was called & said it was the great change in her manner of life & diet that altered her—that she must be induced gradually to eat solid food. She presently grew better, & now eats like the other children & is very well.

She learns as fast as could be expected of one who has so lately had her faculties tasked & is unused to application. The lady said moreover that she would write & send some letters to Boston to my care. I shall forward any such with great pleasure. The lady herself is a most pleasing person in her appearance countenance & speech. And the little children of Mr. Alphonso Mason seem happy & well-taught. These things are what Mrs Mason wishes I suppose to hear from me. Doubtless she has repeatedly heard similar accounts from Miss Shipley & others, & it was that which made me less careful to write word of Catalina. She keeps alive her Spanish, they told us, by talking with the Storer children whom she is much attached to.

Your letter of March 19 & the oranges came & thank you. We had about a couple of dozen & Barnard & Adams as many. The shells you spoke of having sent a while ago have not yet made their appearance. Mother & Waldo are about moving out to Newton to board for the summer, at Mrs. Allen's a sister of good Mrs. Barnard's.

But goodbye now. I go to Concord this afternoon. I am your very affectionate brother

Charles

New York Election is a noble triumph for them who love their country.

May 1834

May 1. 1834.[7] Agreed to remain clerk with Mason & Co. for one year at 500$. Being 80$ more than former year. If wanted by them I am to go to U.S. otherwise work here. At the end of year if I can get aid in U.S. towards running a vessel from Boston, Mason & Co. will afford me every facility on their part & think well of the project.

[6] Spanish - sweet, i. e., sweets, desserts.
[7] Dated entry from an unnumbered page in the Memorandum book, Houghton MS Am 1280.235 (333)

June 1834

Letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson in Boston[8]

Pto Rico June 3d 1834.

Dear Waldo—

Your's of 12 April is before me, with its kind invitations and what you call "mouldy speculations" but quite mellow & shining when they reach the West Indies. I have nothing to say to you—& wherefore should they who are already understood say any thing. Shall I take out my tinder box & bit of flint & insult you in your illuminated saloon by pretending to light a farthing candle? I look forward to a good long talk with you. I am curious to hear of some of your European passages. Besides I want to see what you have become & to have an observation, as the seamen & astronomers like to have from time to time of certain conspicuous bodies, thereby forming judgments as to the observer's situation & motion forward or retrograde. I am dis[m]ally ignorant & a few parlour lectures would be invaluable to me as a compensation for a vast deal of instructive reading that hath been & perhaps must be let alone by me. There are many things and many characters I should like well to discuss, as wont to do of old with Roxbury licence. If you have projects too, how should I rejoice[,] fling a stone at the ridiculous, and spy out the favorable omens for the success of better schemes.

Next year let me beg of you keep at home & I will at leas[t] visit you for a time. As to my health which I notice interests you it is such as it has been for years, sufficient to the day—and I do not let myself to imagine the cause[,] extent or probable duration of my infirmities: glad if I am out of pain, and not often called upon to exercise other patience than that which is needful to one who finds himself less fat, less robust, less comely than other men.

[8] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (221). Manuscript burnt and torn.

But as I began so I end; you know me & having nothing to communicate which would be new, all I can write is but redundancy, tedious & inadequate to express the deep affection of your brother

Edw

Letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson in Boston[9]

Pto Rico. June 29. 1834

Dear Waldo

To get you in debt I write a line; for you are but an illiberal correspondent if one keep tally of the number of your letters, apart from the intrinsic value which latter you can't estimate nor I, lest vanity or flattery bother us. Anyway it is a fair epistolary compliment or sarcasm as you chuse to view it when I say that you are angel of a writer rarely & at long intervals gladdening my solitude.

You know that sometime since a statute was made in Spain, for the establishment of a legislature in two chambers, one of grandees &c. the other of popular representatives, in short a modification of the *Cortes* (I believe without that name);[10] and it pleased our authorities here to evince their gratitude for the said decree as a benefit conferred on the nation by an amateur representation of a drama in the Theatre on the 19th & a ball on the 20th current.[11] To the former I was fortunate enough to procure admission, and though the performance was dull enough in itself yet from the personages taking part, it was interesting. The Governor's wife was the principal actress; the next being one of the belles of the city. The Governors Secretary (and virtual prime minister) D. Pedro Tomas Cordova was the principal actor and the rest were individuals well known

[9] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (222).
[10] *Cortes* is the Spanish name for the traditional legislative assembly. The *Estatuto Real* (Royal Statute), granted on 10 April 1834 by Queen Regent María Cristina, in the name of her infant daughter Isabel II, established a legislature with two chambers, the *Estamento de Próceres* (Estate of Worthies) and the *Estamento de Procuradores* (of Deputies).
[11] According to the *Gaceta* (17 June: 913; 26 June: 929-930), the dates were 20 and 21 June. The program of the theater performance opened with the "sinfonia" (overture?) for *Semíramis* and continued with "The Hymn of Isabel II" (the new queen of Spain), a poem in celebration of the *Estatuto* (composed by one of the amateur performers), the tragedy *Zoraida*, an aria from the opera *Semíramis*, and the brief piece *Los Lechuguinos* (*The Dandies*). No authors were named. (Rossini's *Semiramide* was first performed in 1823.)

amongst the people. Nothing else that has happened of late occurs to me as worth mentioning.

My moral powers I was about to say—but no,—there is never a moment when these ought not to be in exercise. What I would say, is that the provinces of sentiment[,] of fancy[,] of pure intellect[,] the region of thought, the mines where reason labors & sifts the mountains where speculation climbs, all these I seem to contemplate as part of my domain lying at a far distance off—unvisited almost by a glance,—oh that the fallow ground. may one day render in at least the great Landlord's interest.

Yours E—

July 1834

Letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson in Boston[12]

Porto Rico July 7. 1834.

Dear Waldo,

Your excellent letter of 31 May[13] gives me at once pleasant matter for thought, good news about your pecuniary affairs, and an invitation so alluring that I know not whether to lay the blame of declining the splendid overture for the p[iece? manuscript burnt] on pride, obtuseness or the real obligation of untoward circumstances & prior engagements. T[he] idea of a retreat to Berkshire, or any cottage [burnt] nook from cities" with our beloved mother to bestow and share the comfort, to make a [burnt] adorn a home in the seclusion, with [burnt] to teach & occupy, with our little store [of] recollections to communicate & digest, wi[th] the opportunity which modern facilities of cor[res]pondence &c. would open like a window our cupola to give us a peep at the b[burnt] and ostentatious & self-fatiguing unsatisfac[tory] apprentices in Life—altogether the pla[ce?] too luxurious, too full of the air of Ed[ward?] to be soberly embraced as a commonpl[ace] arrangement by one who has ever pierced his hands in each attempt to grasp a rose. Nevertheless next year when I come to s[ee] you—we will talk over what we may then [r]emain unvanished of the project, and if my own steps be guided into a less

[12] MH bMS Am 1280.226 (223). Manuscript burnt and torn.
[13] See Emerson RW, *The selected letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. J. Myerson, 132-134.

pleasant path I may at least come a welcome pilgrim visitor from time to time, and repose & repent & learn & unlearn as need may be, in your philosophic & religious shades.

And now as to the transcendental lecture you [ga]ve me about Reason & Understanding, I take—as the phrase is—but I protest against either Coleridge or the Germans claiming the merit of the discovery of this all important distinction which is, as you say, like all other truth very practical. Indeed [it] is not so much a theory or hypothesis brain-[b]orn like poetic dreams which a felicitous combination o[f] events may verify—as rather the conclusion to which an active & honest mind is driven by his daily experience & reflection thereupon. I don't [de]ny that Coleridge has (in some few pages of that [vo]lume which you lent me) put in forcible light the [di]stinction referred to & that makes me respect him; but again I wholly disapprove the nomenclature so to call it of his system. I even would prefer [th]e old fashioned title by which after all we best [a]ttain his "Reason" and by which the theologians have ever termed it, some more & some less aware of its full import to wit the Soul itself as ex[pre]ssive of the internal eye that doth so intuitively comprehend, approve, condemn, dis [burnt]—and I would let that good old argufier, or [as] you call him "wrinkled calculator" that faculty that ratiocinates &c &c, still wear the old nam[e] of Reason. It is only confounding and not enlighten[ing] people to tell them that they 'reason' with the[ir] 'understanding'. It is on[ly] quackery that needs to insist on these innovations in co[m]mon parlance. Newton never would have insisted on men's talking astronomically about the common appar[ent] motions of the heavenly bodies. Probably you ca[re] as little about the terms to which I have alluded, prov[ided] the great doctrine can be well evolved without them & it seems to me they impede, not help.

I love your quotations; and it is quite a ma[rk] of confidence and a compliment to come out wi[th] the good ones—as ladies show their little jew[el] boxes or *pierreries*[14] to particular friends.

[14] Precious stones (historical usage).

A gentleman has lent me a horse wh[ich] I gladly feed, at 6$ per month for the sake of having him at my command holidays, return[able] at pleasure, if I find him not worth his g [burnt]

Goodbye—Love to the loved

Edw

I have just finished *Gil Blas*[15] a bad book, a libel on mankind a [burnt]t of the age & country concerned, and the only de[fe]nce set up for the libel must be its truth—but a very [d]iverting book, and to one of the fixed, I should [th]ink rather instructive—but who needs instruction in [burnt] corrupt & base? Have you ever read the book?

Charles Chauncy Emerson to Elizabeth Hoar in Concord[16]

[21 July 1834] Monday P.M.

Dear Lizzie

Will you have the kindness to send mother's part of the inclosed letters to her? You will find the last sentence or two in that to Waldo, which I authorise you to read, sound well.

Why cannot you make at your leisure a watch guard for Edward, of the kind that will endure, for he has no sister at his side to repair the mischiefs that time works in silk & linen as well as brass & marble. I ask this because he says he is still wearing (tho' faded) a guard I gave him when at P.R. & desires if there be benevolence extant in America, that some of his sisters that are or are to be would step in to his relief.

Yours,

Charles.

October 1834 - May 1835

The family continued to receive news from Edward in July and August.[17] Then, near 15 October, William received letters from Sidney Mason, indicating that Edward had been very ill,

[15] Le Sage, Alain René (1668-1747). *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane* (1715-1735) or, in the Spanish translation, *Aventuras de Gil Blas de Santillana*.
[16] MH bMS Am 1280.220 (52), folder 15.

and died on the early hours of 1 October. The extant document, marked "duplicate", is a composite of three consecutive letters.

Sidney Mason to William Emerson in New York[18]

Original per *Independence* P. R. 30 September 1834

Duplicate

William Emerson Esq

New York Dear Sir

I have duly received your letter of 27 ultimo and we congratulate ourselves that nothing has happened to the inmates personally of the Convent. The wanton cruel conduct will I fear ever be a blot in the history of Boston.[19] I am obliged to you for the care taken of the box which materially was but of little importance.

Edward does not write you he is ill and dangerously so. I have been with him the last night and all this day. I have never seen him suffer so much and fear for his recovery. He has for some time past been in the habit of visiting the Country where he staid overnight. I have frequently cautioned him about the dampness of the season, this being the rainy part of the year. His avocation as he supposed would call him always punctually at the hour induced thus often to get showered and sometimes wet. The last of these was a drenching rain about three weeks since which brought on a violent cold & little fever, of this he was ridding himself when on Sunday he confined himself to his bed and took medicine. I called the Doctor on monday who asked for a consultation immediately and they have so far proved their utmost talents to save the worn out frame. I have told him that the only opportunity for the States sails in the morning if he had anything particular to say to you[.] He then dictated to me the following: "Say to William that I have one of my old fashioned attacks of Rheumatism and the lungs such as I had when Dr. Perkins attended me["]. Something more was

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[17] Mentioned in letters by Charles in Boston to William in New York, 21 July 1834, MHi Ms N-251 (330); Charles to Ralph Waldo in Bangor, Maine, 24 July 1834, MH bMS Am 1280.226 (120); Charles in Boston to William in New York, 21 August 1834, MHi Ms N-251 (332).

[18] MHi, Ms N-251(338). Received by William on 7 November 1834. Sealed by Mason with black wax with a coat of arms.

[19] Although the majority of the children taught by the Ursuline community, where Catalina Mason was enrolled, were members of the Protestant Boston upper class, it was affected by the anti-Catholic sentiment of the times. The rumor that a woman was being held there against her will provoked a riot on August 11, 1834, that resulted in the burning and complete destruction of the convent.

articulated when a flow of blood from the lungs took place which nearly suffocated him; he has not spoken and the physician does not wish him to be spoken to. He is ill very ill and but little hopes of his recovery, his strength and constitution is worn out but little remains[.] We yet live in hopes of a turn.

5 oclock P. M. I have returned again from Edward and he appears easier and more calm[.] The pain has been subdued. The change will be great soon and we now hope for the better. I shall have this letter open untill morning that we may possible have the happiness to say he continues better. I enclose you a scroll [sic - scrawl] which he has just made me on paper[.] He cannot speak for fear of a return of Bleeding. The Doctor has bled him.

9 oclock evening Edward continues the same if any thing more easy but very weak and low. I now close this and you must await the decission in another letter probably by the next opportunity. The vessel will sail early in the morning. Make our respects to your Lady and to your family at Boston.

Respectfully yours fds Sobbt [sic]

October 1.o

My Dear Sir.

I wrote you in detail yesterday of Edward's sickness. It has now become my fate to give you the melancholy tidings. I left my desk at 9 oclock and went to Edward's room, where I remained untill 12[.] He appeared calm and perfectly aware of his situation but not able to articulate a word[.] I left him with his nurse untill one when they called me[,] there appearing a decided change in his favour[.] Soon after I expected to converse with him, but alas my dear Sir; the calm change was his last and from that in the short space of a few hours he was with his heavenly friends and died – without a strugle at 3 oclock. I could only obtain from him that he confided in doing of the allwise God. His loss to you and to us is irreparable and we trust he has gained a heavenly seat. Judge for yourself the feelings of us all have been powerfully moved, beloved and respected as he has been with us all. I shall entomb the body and await your further instructions remitting you his papers &c the first direct opportunity after this.

Believe me most [?] and Respectfully yours fd

October 8 [different handwriting]

Dear Sir I wrote you the foregoing letters on the 30 ultimo and 1st current. Since then our establishment has had more the appearance of mourning than of commerce. The inmates of our house and ware houses scarcely can realize the lamentable loss, but the first of October at 5 oclock the Body of Edward was removed to the Cathedral and from there accompanied by a large concord of friends to the Sacred ground w[h]ere we have entombed the remains. Service was performed and honors to the exequies after.[20] The sudden transit did not permit me to know even his wishes in this respect, and I am happy to say that the City of Porto Rico never has shown to a stranger the respect that has been shown to my deceasd friend, Dr Armstrong scarcely can be consoled. The loss of Edward to him it has been great,

With Respect I am truly

Yours

Mason

William (with Waldo, who was then in New York) received the first two letters separately, or perhaps decided to forward them shortly spaced, to gradually prepare the family. On receipt of the first letter, Charles (in Boston) wrote to his mother in Concord about Edward's grave illness. The following evening (October 18) he received the news of their brother's death.[21] He went to Concord the next day, and when he met his mother and Aunt Mary, who was also staying in town, he found they had not received the first letter. Surprised, they reacted with sorrow and agitation, but then, prompted by Charles, remembered Edward's trials, "to what he had passed, and all out of which he was escaped." Although at first distressed by "the wretchedness of that lonely death & stranger's burial, " the family was grateful to Mr. Mason,

[20] An engraved invitation for the burial was circulated, and a copy is kept at Houghton Library, MH bMsAm 1280.235 707, Box 67, Packet 11 of 19. The religious ceremonies and burial were probably very similar to what Edward described for the funeral of José Dorado, see journal, 20 September 1831. The burial certificate reads as follows: "En el día primero del mes de octubre de mil ocho cientos treinta y cuatro años fue sepultado en el cementerio de Santa María Magdalena de Pazzis *in litore* de esta Muy Noble y Muy Leal Ciudad de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico el cadáver de don Eduardo Emerson, natural de Boston en los Estados Unidos hijo legítimo de don Romualdo y doña Elena Emerson, de estado soltero, edad de veinte y seis años. No testó, recibió los santos sacramentos de Penitencia y Extremaunción, de que doy fe. Manuel Almanza [On the margin:] Don Eduardo Emerson. Nota: que esta partida corresponde su asiento al folio 367, retardada por falta de noticia." [Indeed, it is placed between burials of 11 and 14 October.] AHASJ, PC, Entierros, libro 28, 1831-1834, folio 370v. The parents were William y Ruth; "Romualdo" and "Elena" sound like Waldo, his brother, and Ellen, his sister-in-law. The age of the deceased was 29 years (born in 1805).

[21] Charles to Elizabeth Hoar, 18-19 October 1834, MH bMS Am 1280.220 (52), folder 22.

and decided, (as Charles expressed it) to "bring home the precious dust, & lay it in American soil."[22]

The family letters in the weeks that followed show the relatives' sense of loss, and the tragedy they saw in Edward's promise, high achievements, great suffering and early death.[23] Obituaries published by friends made the feeling public, and helped the family in its grief.[24] By early February, after further communications with Sidney Mason, they had decided that Edward's tomb in San Juan would be temporary, until "a few years hence, [...] the remains be brought home." Charles and Waldo sent William the text for a funerary inscription, described as "simply the name, age, & date of the death, with a verse asserting the rights of him, whose remains it holds, to the resurrection of the good." Charles added: "Latin is the tongue in which the Catholic reads the Scriptures & the Mass—and the name will be understood in English. I did not wish to denationalize even his tombstone with Spanish."[25] William arranged to have the stone cut and inscribed in New York.

Shortly thereafter, on March 9, 1835, William received a letter from Francis Armstrong, Edward's friend and physician in San Juan.[26] It included a frank and incomplete account of Edward's last hours and Mason's arrangements for the security of the remains, which provoked an inquiry to Mason, the businessman's response (with much anger directed at Armstrong) and the physician's prompt apology.

Dr. Francis Armstrong to William Emerson in New York

Porto Rico February 5th 1835

Dear Sir

Since the lamented decease of your brother, I had proposed to address you by the two opportunities which have occurred by the *Independence*, but they escaped me while I was in the country. I condole with you for the loss of so worthy a relation -

[22] Charles to William Emerson, 20 October 1834, MHi Ms N-251 (340).
[23] Bosco and Myerson, *Emerson Brothers*, 143-147.
[24] Obituary in the *Advertiser*, possibly by George Bradford, mentioned in Charles' letter to Elizabeth Hoar, 24 October 1834, MH bMS Am 1280.220 (52), folder 23; poem by David H. Barlow, eventually published in the *Christian Register* (New York?) mentioned by Ralph Waldo's letter to Barlow, also 24 October 1834, in Emerson RW, *The letters*, 1: 422; notice of Edward by Joseph Lyman, Jr., in unspecified newspaper, mentioned in Charles' letter to William, 17 November 1834, MHi Ms N-251 (343).
[25] Charles to William Emerson, 20 October 1834, MHi Ms N-251 (354).
[26] Francis Armstrong, San Juan, to William Emerson, New York, 5 February 1835, MH bMS Am 1280.226 (3109).

None can lament him more than myself. I had formed a friendship with him, and in his society and conversation I had enjoyed many happy days. Since the month of January he generally spent every Sunday and holy day in the country with me. It was sometime in August that he spent one of the holy days with Mr Hoope in Louisa (sic - Loíza) and on his return to the city early the next morning he got a wetting which encreased his cough very much. but he was getting the better of that, when on Saturday the 27th Sept: he excuse[d] himself from accompanying me to the country as usual, complaining of much pain in his chest, which he attributed to getting his feet wet the day before. Early on monday morning Mr Mason sent for me. I considered his case hopeless even before I enterred his chamber, there being evidently a large collection of pus on the lungs. I immediately asked for consultation and I remained constantly with him until he expired on the morning of the 1st of October.

No foreigner has died here more universally regretted and respected. His body was deposited in an oven (so called here) hired for a certain number of months, and at the expiration of that time his bones will be taken out and thrown to one side of the burying ground indiscriminately with others.[27] I should be very happy if his remains could be removed to the United States and deposited with his relations[.] I think it could be done without much expense[.] I will render every assistance should the proposal meet the approbation of his friends in the United States.

Your brother was so obliging as [to] procure Books for me from the United States and I believe through you; therefore may I take the liberty of begging you would be so kind as to continue to forward them as usual[?] The following are the books I wish for –

The *North American Review* – commence with 1835

The New Haven reprint of *Blackwood's Magazine*

the *Metropolitan & Foreign Quarterly Review* - I have to No. 42 –

The New York reprint of the Edinburgh & London Westminster Reviews[28]

[27] Described also in Scott, "Charles Walker's letters from Puerto Rico, 1835-1837," 44-45.
[28] That is, the *Edinburgh Review* and the London *Westminster Review*.

Please to direct them always to Mr Mason and each time forward the Bill which I will immediately pay to Mr Mason – It is better to wait for an opportunity direct for St Johns', P.R.

I am respectfully

Your obedient Servant

Francis Armstrong M.D.

P.S. By return of the *Independence*, please to sent an account for the books you have already sent out since the last of September.

Enclose you the last settlement I had with him, by which you will be able to make out an account. My medical account against him is 13 dollars.

Sidney Mason to William Emerson in New York[29]

Pto Rico 4 April 1835

Wm Emerson Esq

New York

Dear Sir I have this evening recd your letter of 18th ultimo, I must confess that I have been most cruelly injured by Dr Armstrong who amongst others has from me received the greatest kindness[.] I must first know if this injury proceeds from ignorance or malice ere I determine the course to pursue with him[.] One circumstance should have at least dictated his letter to you different from that sent is that I am [not?] a foreigner and not void of feeling or a Beast.

I will now for your satisfaction relate to you the actual steps taken by me to secure any imposition of villains upon the sacred cor[p]se of your brother. After he expired I called upon the principal priest[,] related to him my feelings and requested no impediment might take place in the deposit of your Brother's remains, to secure which I had calld one of the Fathers and he said prayers and put holy water in the presence of Dr Armstrong, myself[,] brother and our families at 3 o clock in the

[29] Sidney Mason, San Juan, to William Emerson, New York, 4 April 1835, with William's note to Ralph Waldo dated 7 May 1834, MH bMS Am 1280.226 (2967). It is in a different handwriting from the letters of 8 Oct 1834, large, florid, difficult to read, with the ink passing through the paper.

morning of the first day of October.[30] I by this obtained the safe guard against a ["]No["] and nothing was said about religion &c[.] He was deposited in the church and all of his [missing word - friends, acquaintances?] my own and a large number of citizens attended his Funeral[.] Many of the Chargs. (sic) went to the deposit -

I was forced to hire a tomb of the church and did so for 3 months. They are arch[e]d and not unlike the mouth of an oven. They are oval and all shapes. The mouth is closed with bricks and morter, the body rested there untill I had finished the one proposed to receive the tablet I had mentiond to you, the moment this place of deposit was finishd and dry which is now distinguished from most of all the others from its appearance it being an oblong square. I attended myself in taking the coffin from the first and placing it carefully in that built, w[h]ere it now remains carefully seal[e]d up and the vacant space mentiond ready to receive the tablet. I trust that when I am called upon to render to your family or mother the remains of your deceasd Brother it will not be inhumanly said of me, ["]it is not him["';] it can be recognizd and I trust my dear sir it is as safe w[h]ere it now lays as may possibly can be in any other tomb,

Say to your beloved mother that there does not exist in my hands and to my belief on that of any one belonging to my establishment a scrap of paper of those belonging to Edward[.] I was particular careful to see them packd up my self – and the only item retained from the parcel was the watch guard[31] which I will also forward – as to the clothing I will not answer for those items as the servants[,] his washer woman and superstition of his disease might have destroyd many – I do not believe they could have taken them to ware [sic - wear] as they often burn every thing of deceasd persons here –

I am sorry to say Mrs. Mason has been ill of a feaver and now convalescent. I have not time to write you from the Hours[?] this vessel has been detained by me untill morning as the *Independence* only gry. (sic) in late; more for the purpose of

[30] Mason first stated to the family (October 1) that Edward "died – without a struggle at 3 oclock"; then (4 April), "one of the Fathers […] said prayers and put holy water […] at 3 o clock in the morning". He did not mention that Edward received the sacrament of penitence (confession), which is stated directly in the burial certificate. The accounts are not in contradiction. If the patient seemed able to hear and give the slightest sign of assent, the priest could interpret that the administration of the sacrament was valid.

[31] See Charles' letter to Elizabeth Hoar transcribed above, 21 July 1834, MH bMS Am 1280.220 (52), folder 15.

writing in answer to letters that she brough[t] than any other - We all desire as usual our best regards and am Truly

Your obedient

Mason

[Note by William, New York, 7 May 1835, to Ralph Waldo in Concord:]

Dear Waldo,

[...] I have now but time to inclose the letter last received from Mr. Sidney Mason, & to add, that I have since had one from Dr Armstrong, in which he humbly apologies (sic) for the mischief he has made, & says he is satisfied that what Mr Mason has done will securely protect the remains. The *Independence* sails next Tuesday, & I shall send the slab by her.

Yours ever

Wm

May 7th

The gravestone marked Edward's remains in the cemetery in San Juan for at least ten years. During that time, Charles died (in New York, 1836) and Sidney Mason sold his interests in land and business in Puerto Rico. In April, 1841, Waldo wrote to William about bringing to Concord the remains of both Edward and Charles, and left the decision to William. As Bosco and Myerson indicate, at some point the slab came loose, or someone missed a rental payment on the niche and its contents were apparently transferred to a common grave. The tablet was returned to William and is now at the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in Concord, in the Emerson family plot.[32]

Edward Bliss Emerson
OF BOSTON
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DIED OCT. 1, 1834
AGED 29 YEARS
Qui in Me fidem habet, ille quamvi
mortuus esset, vivet.[33]

[32] Bosco and Myerson, *Emerson Brothers*, 150.

[33] Latin, from John 11: 25: "He that believes in me, although he be dead, shall live;" Christ's words to Martha, who grieves for the death of her brother Lazarus.

Appendix 1.

Undated notes in memorandum book[1]

1. Hotels where Edward stopped: Europe, 1825-1826; Danish Virgin Islands, 1831

Brussels	d'Angletere
Antwerp	de la Couronne
Amsterdam	Amsterdam Arms or Old Doelen, Doelen Straat
Rotterdam	Klein Schippers Huys
Haarlem	Golden Lion
Leyden	[blank]
Hague	Bellevue opposite the Park
London	Mrs. Wright's hotel, 12 Adams St. Adelphi
	or for lodgings 30 Arundel St., Strand.
Oxford	Angel or ~~Chequer~~ Inn
Birmingham	Albion Inn
Liverpool	Waterloo, Neptune, Angel
Rome	Franz or Franks
Florence	Hombert
	_____
St. Croix	West End Mrs. Boyle's
St. Thomas	Mrs. Hinson & Kelly.

[1] Houghton MS Am 1280.235 (333)

2. Boarding expenses, St. Croix and Puerto Rico, 4 January - 3 May 1831

Board

Took lodging at Mrs. Boyle's Tuesday: January 4 – 20th at $12 till 21st.

Took lodging at Mount Victory January 21st @ $12 to 28th & @ $10. from 28th paid up to 1 February.

Took lodging at Mrs. Boyle's on 1 February @ $10.

On 14 spoke to Mrs. Boyle about changing & she offered to accommodate me for less rather than I should go to a lesser agreeable residence.

Agreed from 15th for $8.

Went away 20 March. Returned. 24. Left 4 April.

Took lodging at Porto Rico 8 April for $1.50.

9th April agreed for $1 per day. Paid up to 18th left unpaid dinner - & began again 23d at noon. Left on 3d May = 10 dollars. Went to Mr. Mason's 3d May.

3. Memorandum of expenses, July 1831, in Spanish

1831		Expenses	$
		y Suma de la vuelta	p.f. 31.76 3/4
	July 19	suma de la vuelta	
		por Julio - -	
+		ya incluida al lado	5.06/- +
	" "	A Juan por trabajo	
		del aposento	.25
	" 19	Velas	.12 1/2
	" "	Billares	.25.
√	21	Por Flete de la caja	4.87 1/2
-√		Por conchas 3-	25
√	22	En billares	25
√	"	A Juan por chupa	12 1/2
√	"	Zapatero -	1.00
√	26	Billares	25
√	27	á la lavandera	1.00
√	28	por compostura	.25

-√	29	por cigarros	1.59-
		exceso	3 1/2
WE	1.	por multiplicador y por Don Quijote	
		Suma de la Pagina	15,,31

[On the right margin:]

5|15 31
| 3 06
12,25

Desde 25 Abril.
p.f 31.76
Julio 12,25
44.01

4. Memoranda of correspondence, 4 January - 1 February 1831

Letters &c

4 January wrote to W & to mother of arrival
8th to W.E. of situation & expecting to go to Cuba &c.
Sent by Brig *William* to Norfolk.
16th to W.E. of health &c & intention of going to Cuba.
18 to Mr Sedgwik
19 to W.E. covering same
20 to W.E. additional to the above & stating proposed visit to Mount Victory.
[Drawing of fist with index finger pointing]
Received 25th. letter from W.E. of January 5th., from C.C.E. of January 4. & of
Dr Ripley December 27th., from mother December 22. Aunt Mary December 22.
R.W & Ellen 24 December.
29 January. wrote Mother.
29 January. wrote RW & Ellen.
31 January. wrote W.E. stating expenses &c.
1. February. wrote W.E. supplement-

5. Memoranda of correspondence, 27 February - 31 July 1834

Barnard Adams & Company 27 February, confirming duplicate of 18th. Per *John Geo.* via New York.
W.E. 27 February. ordering *Gil Blas* not over 2½ $ -
28 February to Mother

4 March C.C.E. answering his –
4 March Enclosing above to W.E.
4 March Carney & Cunninghan inclosing above &c.&c. –
19 March W.E. about Mason & Company's power of attorney.
Barnard Adams & Co. 19 March about cask of coffee. See copy –
C.C.E. 19 March about barrel oranges
Per *Bedford* to Boston
31 March W.E. about *Niles Register* – requesting renewal for 1834.
31 March C.C.E. – requesting review & novels for Dr. Armstrong to be marked &c.

7 April M.M.E. answer to her letter –
7 April. W.E. renews order of *Niles Register* as in last & answers his per *Independence* –
13 April. Mrs. R.E. on intending of going to N.Y. spoke of General Jackson &c.
15 April. W.E. inclosing above with *encargo* & repair Turull's knife and to send same directed to E.B.E. for J.E. Turull.
19 April. W.E. short note -
22 April. C.C.E. & Mrs. R.E. & Barnard Adams & Co. & Carney & Cunningham & Burdett & Co.

May 4 Mrs. R.E. C.C.E. <u>socks</u>
May 12 Carney & Cunningham with duplicate last letter (ordering Sponge)

May 12 C.C.E. postscript ordering Waverly novels[2] & newspapers
May 12 W.E. inclosing above and ordering Velpeau[3] &c – also sending pencil case to C.C.E.
Per Brig *Temperance*
May 29 W.E. answering his & acknowledging various books &c per *Corsair*
May 29 Barnard Adams & answering theirs up to May 3 and communicating wish to have 50$ advanced to C.C.E. in new account to be paid by consignments &c. Also my plan for next year.
29 May to C.C.E. – A few lines acknowledging his various letters telling him to apply to Barnard Adams & Co. for 50$ & to be careful about packages. Flannels lost.

June 2. Mother answering hers of May 1.
June 2 W.E. referring to mine of 29. Also &c
June 2 Carney & Cunningham annexin. duplicate of my former letter.
June 3 C.C.E. answering his sundry.
June 3. R.W.E. answering his of 12 April
June 4. W.E. requesting Conversations Lexicon
June 3 2.50 per *Independence*.
June 4 introducing Captain Lee –
June 10 W.E. Substantially duplicate of preceding.
June 17 Cunningham about Soda apparatus. Duplicate of same – to go –
June 21. AH Palmer about the same. Inclosed to W.E. Duplicate ready.
June 28. Barnard Adams & Co. with invoice of Hoses [very unclear word - horses, houses?] – per *Mary Vickery*
C.C.E. June 29. Answering his of May 14 with order to pay W.E. any balance in his hands also aid in getting *Encyclopedia Americana* also *North American Review* for July 1832. –
June 29. Mrs. R.E. health &c. –
June 29. R.W.E. account of amateur representation in Theatre &c.&c.

[2] By Sir Walter Scott.
[3] Probably a treatise by the renowned French surgeon Alfred Velpeau (1795-1867).

July 6. Mrs. R.E. answering hers of May 30.
July 7. R.W.E. answering his of May 31.
July 9 & 10. C.C.E. to send Apl. No. & of *North American Review* &c.&c.
10 July W.E. with foregoing letter for Boston open also duplicate to Palmer.
10 July. Barnard Adams & Co. acknowledging account customs correct
10 July. Cunningham about J. Hernandez *Encargo* duplicate ready.
16 July. A word to Cunningham confirming duplicate 10th
16 July. W.E. bautisma &c.
16 July. Barnard Adams & Co. confirming duplicate of 10. per *System.*
30 July Mrs. R.E. answering hers of June &c.
31 July C.C.E. answering his June 28 & July 23.
31 W.E. answering his June 17.

6. Undated notes on Puerto Rico and commerce

The house which some call Columbus' house here was the residence of Ponce de Leon the first governor & not of Columbus, who never remained but short time here. The house is venerable & was built so as to be capable of defense as a fortress.

Statistics &c Porto Rico –

U.S. vessels 84 entered St. Johns in 1830: tonnage 10,849, average 129 tons each.
U.S. vessels 42 entered St. Johns first 6 months 1831: tonnage 4637, average 100 tons each.
U.S. produce entered in above vessels for 1830 amounted to say $339,700;
for first 6 months 1831: 137,000.
Foreign produce in same 1830: $48,600; first 6 months 1831: 6,000.
Amount produce of Island carried away in them from this port (chiefly); 1830:
$404,327 – first half 1831: 207,900.
This includes <u>perhaps</u> a few cargoes taken from 1 or 2 other ports.
First 6 months 1831 $207,900

First 6 months 1830 $161,000

Increase $ 46,900 though number of vessels was 3 less.

Fanega of coffee in the shell & which when conditioned will give 100 to 105 lbs. is selling at about 5$ now – 5 October 1831
Pergamino coffee is single shelled – Next in value comes what is called the common Double shelled coffee & the most inferior is the Triage.

Mr Mason says there are 4 villas – San German, Arecibo, ~~Cuama~~(?) & Coamo holding the rank of villas above pueblos on account of the internal regulations of the same & existence of Cabildos & consulates as in St. Johns.[4]

Consular Agents &c.
AB Rogers Ponce
G.A. Schroder Aguadilla
S.C. Russell Mayaguez

Mem. Cabreras [?]
hoseless [horseless/ houseless?] &ca
early life
priests &ca

Coffee bag about 125 lbs.

Bunches onions pay duty say 60¢ per 100 bunches.

Cahiz contains 16 sacos 2½ bushels
Fanega 192 lbs peas &c
Fanega of cocoa worth about 14$ @ 25

[4] Córdova, *Memorias*, 2: 9 mentions four villas: San Germán, Arecibo, Aguada and Coamo.

Surones contain about 50 lb [lts?]
Tare on rice 10 pr ct; on coffee 1 [lb/ lt/ ct?] pr bag.

Coffee crop for 1831-2 is said to be probably 20 ["2" in ink, "0" added in pencil] million pounds – sugar crop perhaps 15000 hogsheads short of last year's owing to abandonment of some estates & dry weather &c.

Tonnage.
Contents of Bales cases &c are estimated by the ton of 40 feet cubic. The tonnage of ships by ton of 95 feet.
For single decked vessels, multiply the length, breadth at main beam & depth of hold together & divide product by 95.
For a double decked vessel take half the breadth of the main beam for the depth of the hold and work as *supra*.

Schooner has no tops to its masts; a Brig has.

Mem. Proportion to ascertain different exchange to be allowed for a given sum. 115: 100 & so on.

interest is calculated by the merchant who makes sales on account others for the credit given & charges to Dr. [draft?] of his consignor from time of sale.
Interest on an accepted draft from time of its becoming due, - & so the consignee in his account credits the same from date of said payment to date of account rendered (if advised of payment.)

"Porto Rico 31 Dec 1828 Statement of commerce &c says exportation of <u>this port</u> = 573,886$
Of which sugar = 6.485.515 lbs at 4¢ = $ 259.420 (sic)
& coffee amounting to 1.314.642 lbs = <u>131.464$</u>
In December 1830 Statement is of the <u>whole</u> <u>island</u>, 2,821,893$

Sugar 277,154,49 (sic) ~~lbs~~ = 1,108,617$

Coffee 11,185,800 ~~lbs~~ = 981,006$

[Population Statistics for Puerto Rico]

Whites	Pardos[5]	Negroes	Agregados[6]	Esclavos [Slaves]	Total
139,996	85,555	18,489	40785	34,336	319,161

Padres [Fathers]	Madres [Mothers]	Hijos [Sons]	Hijas [Daughters]
49,650	55,165[7]	107,528	106,813

Franceses [French]	English	Dane	German	Dutch
1474	327	212	62	485

Italian	African	Spaniards of both hemispheres
273	15,718	300,600

Porto Rico discovered 1494[8] second voyage of Columbus.

Governor Miguel de Torre 182[9]

Bishop Pedro Gutierrez 1825

Great Hurricane 1825

Establishment – Catholic Church here 1512.[10]

Aguadilla is at Southwest (sic) end of Porto Rico: Mayaguez between that and Ponce which is about opposite St. Johns lying on the South side[11], Guayama is farther to the East, say 6 hours hard ride from Ponce & 12 or 13 hours from St. Johns. Caguas

[5] The term used at the time for persons of mixed race.
[6] Laborers who live in an estate, with the owner's permission.
[7] The figures come from Córdova, *Memorias*, 5: 411, but "Madres" should be 35,165.
[8] Error; 1493.
[9] Error; de La Torre, 1822.
[10] Year of arrival of first bishop.
[11] Aguadilla is at the northwest end of the Island and Guayama is more nearly opposite to San Juan on the south coast; Ponce is westward.

between this and Guayama in the interior of the Island. As also Cayeu (?) [Cayey]. The road from hence to Guayama hilly & tedious; from Guayama to Ponce level & easy.
[In pencil, drawing of man on horseback, man from the chest down]

7. Miscellaneous undated notes on different sheets

On Punish. Ch. 38 11

Books

Degerando. Introduction page 3½
"The life of man is one continued education which end is to make himself perfect.
Frothingham's sem [serm?]
Quotes from Brown (T): "It is easier to foretell an eclipse th'n a foul day" -
Aye & we can see that certain habits &c. will ensure a great moral retribution at some period. – though we can't be sure that the thunder will come upon the guilty man soon or tomorrow. –
Again it may be a bad day & yet the sun show itself at intervals.
[verso:]
Like a strong mountain or some stately tree
My soul grows firm upright
And as I stand & as I go
It keeps my body so –
No I can never part with my creative right
Let slaves & as. (sic -asses) stoop & bow
I cannot make this iron knee
Bend to a meaner power than that which formed it free.[12]

D.L. Dodge 227 Pearl St. Jan. 1831
George Dodd

[12] From the poem "Freedom", by Isaac Watts (1674-1748).

Peace Society. See VI *North American Review* Letter
Samuel F. Coolidge. Charged letters &c.
W. Johnson & Leonard Buill &c.

II X 510. Demosthenes. *Against Lacritus*[13], Charge.
War of Alexandria in Caesar *de bello civili*[14] liber 3
Very interesting &c. Azuni[15] p. 43.

America should go back in effeminacy & forward in true refinement avoid *delinimenta – balneorum* &c. The accompaniments which are mistaken for *humanitas*.[16] Tacitus *Annals* II[17]

Heeren's works on Asia & Africa.[18]

There is a heaven & earth to society and mind as well as to bodies physical.

Isaiah chapter 59 verse 14 "& judgment is turned away backward & justice standeth afar off; for truth is fallen in the streets & equity cannot enter".

Mem. Sir J. McIntosh's dissertation on progress ES. Philos. prefixed to *Encyclopedia Brittanica* new edition. (Ed. 103) 159 n.[19]

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[13] Demosthenes (Athenian politician, 384-322 B.C.E.), speech 35, *Against Lacritus*, on a lawsuit regarding maritime commerce.
[14] Caesar, (Caius) Julius (Roman statesman, general, and author, 102?-44 B.C.E.), *Commentarii de bello civili* (Commentaries on the civil war).
[15] Azuni, Domenico Alberto (Italian lawyer and antiquary, 1749-1827). Author of several treatises and a dictionary regarding commerce and maritime law.
[16] Latin - *delinimenta*, blandishments; *balneorum*, of, or relating to, the baths; *humanitas*, human feeling, kindness, refinement of education and taste, good breeding, mental cultivation, culture (possibly refers to one in the last group; that is, blandishments are mistaken for refinement of taste).
[17] Tacitus, Cornelius (Roman historian, 55-117), *The Annals*. The second book, on the reign of Tiberius Caesar, mentions the excessive luxury in the household establishments of Roman upper classes.
[18] Heeren, Arnold Hermann Ludwig (1760-1842), German historian, professor at the University of Gottingen (where William Emerson studied).
[19] Mackintosh, James (1765-1832), Scottish jurist, Member of Parliament, and historian. *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, chiefly during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, prefixed to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1830.

Is it true that "he who makes the fewest persons uneasy is the best bred man in the company?"

"Study is your business & business your amusement" said Judge Howe to his pupils.

"& a plan of new undertakings which whatever be ye upshot & devising ever rich in cheerful anticipations of good"
Ans. Parish p. 182.[20]

[20] Galt, John (1779-1839), Scottish novelist. *Annals of the parish*, Philadelphia: M. Carey and Sons, 1821: 182. The correct quote is "and a plan*ning* of new undertakings*, of* which*,* whatever *may* be *the* upshot, *the* devising *is* ever rich in *the* cheerful anticipations of good."

Appendix 2.

A walk around San Juan, by Edward B. Emerson[1]

You would have some information about St. Johns, Porto Rico. I will not promise to give you very exact descriptions, nor yet to make up for my want of exactness by very interesting embellishment. Without leisure to investigate & still less to invent, I shall put down what occurs to me as any way remarkable, following no rule but the order of my thought, & writing my letter as I would take a walk; that is, looking at what pleases me, passing without notice what a more curious eye would pause to examine, & now & then abruptly departing from the straight road, at the risk of being obliged to make my digression alone. -

Imagine to yourself then a well fortified city, - with lofty walls encircling its entire extent supporting ramparts from which, at due intervals, jut forth round sentry boxes, and huge cannons peep through the embrasure, - so strong by art, that the first glance assures the visitor of security against hostile attempts, while it suggests to him that such have been ere now made or apprehended: - Conceive this city to be bounded on the north, on the east & on the west by the sea, & on the south by an arm of the same which after forming a commodious & graceful port passes on eastward & joins the sea again, rendering a bridge necessary to connect the Capital with the main Island; finally, place the city upon ground that rising gradually from the bay, shows the tiers of houses to advantage; while from their flat roofs you may enjoy a prospect of the harbor and may look beyond it towards such verdant hills & groves as would not disgrace Arcadia,[2] and gaze till the thoughts of war & slaughter onset (sic) &

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[1] Houghton (MH) b Ms Am 1280.235 Item 350 – Emerson, Edward Bliss. Porto Rico – account of San Juan. Untitled, unsigned, undated original manuscript, in letter-size paper, with evident fire damage. According to a note by Sylvester Baxter, Charles Emerson was considered as author, but the handwriting was judged to be Edward's, a text perhaps sent to Charles for his intended lecture on Porto Rico. The lecture delivered at Concord, on 9 January 1833, made no use of this material; see "Keeping an eye a patriot".

This manuscript was perhaps Edward's contribution to his cousin Charlotte Farnham's magazine; see his letter to her on 6 October 1833, included in the journal. A typed version of the text was produced in 1925, compared with the original and corrected on 9 August 1932 - call number Ms Am 1280.235 (576), in the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association deposit, Houghton Library, Harvard University. For this transcription, the text has been divided in paragraphs.

The text has been published in Spanish by Matos Rodríguez, "Diario de Edward Bliss Emerson."

[2] Arcadia, region of Greece, but also the idealized rural area of pastoral poetry.

defence awakened by the first sight of the fortifications, roll away from the mind, like a cloud of smoke from the field of holiday parade: Such is the situation of St. John's.

So rich & peaceful is the scenery from the southern side that one is almost tempted to suppose as his eye glances first on the walls & then on the opposite country, that some stout pilgrims tired with the tumult of European traffic & contention, wisely fixed on this spot their home & altar, resolved to defend themselves as in a newfound Paradise & seek nothing but how best to enjoy the garden so happily discovered. - But History will not be mocked, nor permit us to attribute the foundation of this city to any other than ordinary motives & common adventurers, - under the favor of the watchful government of Spain. The island was discovered by Christopher Columbus on his second voyage in November 1493, & the first settlement was begun about sixteen years afterward at the instigation of Juan Ponce de Leon,- This latter, who had been a companion of Columbus, obtained after some difficulty the government which Diego Colon had conferred on another, in disregard of the just claims of Ponce de Leon, who in his turn showed his contempt for the unfriendly Admiral, making it one of his first steps upon assuming the command, to send his predecessor home in chains.- Juan Ponce established the infant colony on the south side of the harbor, & opposite the site of the present capital, to which the settlement was afterwards transferred, when hard experience of annoyance from the natives, from pestilential vapours & foreign invasions showed the importance of a more elevated & strong position. The history of the colony from its beginning down to about 1775 by Don Iñigo Abbad, is a very entertaining sketch & probably in most points a just one of the difficulties that were encountered by the first settlers & of the habits & character of the aborigines of the Island.- These are topics upon which I have not time to enter. -

To return to the city, - the first business of a stranger is generally to walk around it, following the inner circuit of the walls. - If he walk from the gate of San Justo westward, he passes in his way a little chapel in the wall[3], where he will often at morning & evening find kneeling worshippers; a little further on he passes the

[3] Capilla del Cristo

Fortaleza as it is termed, the residence of the Captain General or Governor. This building has nothing in its exterior to distinguish it from other large houses & only draws attention from the fine situation it occupies & the guards that walk before the door.

As soon as we leave the Fortaleza behind, we see upon our right hand a rock whose heighth & sharp angles & narrow perpendicular front make it conspicuous, & on which stands a small house, not infrequently called the "Casa de Colon" or 'House of Columbus'.[4] Thus muddily does tradition flow. The discoverer of this Island has assigned to him a residence which was in fact that of the son of its second governor. – Luis Ponce de Leon, son of Juan already mentioned, erected the house in question about 1525 & this like many other edifices finds its best title to further toleration in the reverence felt for antiquity. There is nothing, that I can see, very peculiar in its masonry or architecture, unless it be that its dimensions are so suited to the rock on which it is built, or the rock has been so patched & stuccoed in correspondence with the house that the latter seems to be almost part & parcel of the former. That it has endured above 300 years, partly indicates the care of man, & partly its original strength; for in the *Memorias de la Ysla de Puerto Rico*[5] we read, that about 50 years ago, it was in very good preservation, but having suffered much in a hurricane at that time & in subsequent storms, it was some few years since, repaired by government, by whom it is now used as a storehouse for the rubbish of the public workshops. -

Having passed this house & continuing our walk westward, we ascend a short hill & come to an open plain, at the extreme point of which stands the Morro castle,[6] a well appointed fortress, that shows no elevation when thus approached, although on its seaward front it is lofty & formidable, rising up as it does from the rocky promontory under the frown of which all the shipping must pass in order to gain the port. Well do I remember: the hoarse tones in which our vessel was hailed on my first visit to St Johns, as we sailed by the Morro. To one who is unused to the coppery accent of a speaking trumpet, unacquainted with the language of the salutation, &

[4] Casa Blanca
[5] Córdova, *Memorias*.
[6] San Felipe del Morro, the castle at the entrance of San Juan bay.

ignorant of the time & place where this formality awaits him, it is both startling & amusing to hear the first question, for example "*Como se llama el bergantin?*" – 'what is the Brig's name? -or something of that sort, bellowed out from a small window in the rock then for the first time perceived: upon which the Captain seizing his trumpet enters into dialogue & roars away to the best of his ability, without always very precisely adapting his answers to the antecedent questions, but generally giving entire satisfaction to his interrogators.–

But coming home from this digression, the Morro fort on the land side appears quite low, & presents only a neat white-washed wall surrounded by a signal-staff, on which, by different coloured flags, the different sail described are announced as they pass or approach the harbor. Near the Morro & on the same elevated plain, tradition dignifies a lone cocoatree,[7] under which it is said that the first Spanish settlers held their little council & fixed the policy of the infant colony. The uncertainty of such a hearsay does not prevent me from investing the supposed council tree with an imaginary gravity. Alone, on a spot from which the eye could look to the sea on the north, west, & east, & across the little bay to the main island on the south, this cocoa might well have lent its palmy shade to the care-worn yet undesponding, anxious yet adventurous companions or followers of the first discoverer. Methinks I see their dark Spanish features now lowering with suspicion, & now animated with hope & mutual confidence. Methinks, as I stand under this tree, I hear the rash suggestion checked by the prudent counsel & the murmur of jealous & disappointed spirits awed & allayed by the bold rebuke, eloquent & golden prophecies of more intrepid associates. All these have passed away with the broad leaves that then waved above them, & curiosity can extort nothing from this mute but only surviving witness of their deliberations. –

[7] Emerson means a coconut palm. He may be correct in noting the tradition, and some palm trees are native to Puerto Rico, such as the royal palm ("palma real", *Roystonea borinquena*), but the coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*) was introduced in the Island in 1549; after four decades of Spanish colonization; see Henri Alain Liogier. *Las plantas introducidas en las Antillas después del Descubrimiento y su impacto en la ecología / The plants introduced in the West Indies after the Discovery of America and their impact on the ecology*. San Juan, P.R.: Comisión Puertorriqueña para la Celebración del Quinto Centenario del Descubrimiento de América y Puerto Rico, [¿1990?]: 19, 34.

Pursuing our walk we turn our backs to the Morro & pass by the graveyard which is a little to the east of it & on the outside of the wall,[8] whose circuit we now follow as it skirts the northern limit of the city. We have in this part of our progress, the sea on our left hand chafing & moaning, as its waves one by one fall in unequal strife against the rocky shore. On the right hand, the back of the hill on which the city stands presents on its brow some buildings of uninteresting & mean appearance. Further along the side of the hill is formed by a perpendicular rock on the summit of which is perched a sentrybox & we may sometimes see the guard pacing along the brink of the precipice thirty or forty feet over our heads. As we approach the eastern limit, the sight of the sea & the noise of its waters becomes more enlivening, from the nature of the opposing rocks. –

But let us stop in sight of Fort San Cristobal, lest I fatigue you so much that you will never take another walk.-[9]

Your's

Q.B.S.M.

[8] Cemetery of St. Magdalena de Pazzi, outside the northern walls and on a cliff above the Atlantic Ocean.
[9] The fort at the northeastern corner of the city walls, adjoining the only city gate that connected to land. This "walk" covers only half of the perimeter of the city.

Appendix 3.

Tropical plants, flowers and fruits mentioned in the texts

This alphabetical key to the tropical plants and fruits mentioned by Edward Emerson in his writings provides a tentative identification. Common names of plants apply to different species in different locations and vary over time. In addition, Emerson often only named and did not describe the plant and might err in the use of terms.

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Names are presented in the following format:
term as written - ***scientific name*** [name in Spanish in Puerto Rico, if not previously stated], in English (if not previously stated)

ajonjoli - *Sesamum orientale* [ajonjolí], in English, sesame, benny seed.

almond tree - *Terminalia catappa* [almendro indio; árbol de almendra].

arrowroot - *Maranta arundinacea* [amaranta, maranta, yuquilla], West Indian arrowroot and the nutritious starch prepared from its tubers.

astromea - *Alstroemeria* genus of close to 120 species of South American plants; also called Peruvian lily or lily of the Incas.

alligator pear, avocado pear - *Persea americana* [aguacate]

bamboo - *Bambusa vulgaris* [bambú]

ban-bush - *Morinda citrifolia* [noni, gardenia hedionda], noni bush, painkiller bush. The term used by Emerson is perhaps derived from "band" bush, because the wide leaves, used as bandages, are said to reduce pain and also to draw fluid from inflamed areas.

banana - *Musa sapientum* [guineo], which Sylvester Baxter indicates "were hardly known in Boston" in Edward's lifetime (chapter II, page 5); not to be confused with *Musa paradisiaca* [plátano], plantain, which Baxter considered a "large and coarse variety of the banana [that] is eaten only when cooked." Book Seven, chapter I, page 8

banian - trees of the *Ficus* family, such as *Ficus elastica*, *Ficus microcarpa* [árbol de goma, laurel de la India]; tall trees that may shade large areas due to their ability to drop aerial roots from branches and spread horizontally, fusing with the parent tree as they grow.

bell apple - *Passiflora laurifolia* [parcha]

berengena - *Solanum melongena* [berenjena], eggplant, aubergine.

bitter orange - *Citrus aurantium* subspecies *amara* [naranja amarga, naranja agria]. See also forbidden fruit.

breadfruit - *Artocarpus altilis* [pana, panapén]

cabbage tree - a palm tree whose central unexpanded mass of leaves or terminal bud is eaten like cabbage, especially the royal palm, of the *Roystonea* genus: *oleracea*, *borinquena* [palma real], or *regia* [palma real cubana].

calabash - *Crescentia cujete* [higüera, higüero] produces large spherical fruits, up to 25 cm (10 in) in diameter, with a thin, hard shell and soft pulp; the dried shells are often employed as cooking utensils, containers and musical instruments.

campana de Castilla - not identified

cane sago - not identified

cashew fruit, nut - *Anacardium occidentale* [pajuil]

cinnamon - *Cinnamomum zeylanicum* [canela]

citron - *Citrus medica* [cidra]

clove - *Syzygium aromaticum* [árbol del clavo (for the tree), clavo de olor (for the spice)]

cocoa tree - *Cocos nucifera* [palma de cocos]; archaic spelling for the coconut palm.

corkscrew palm tree - not a particular species; a rare palm tree with a trunk twisted like a corkscrew, rather than the usual straight, slender trunk.

croton oil plant - *Croton tiglium*, not to be confused with the ornamental croton (*Codiaeum variegatum pictum*).

culantro - *Eryngium foetidum* [recao], Puerto Rican or spiny coriander.

custard apple - *Annona reticulata* [corazón], also bullock's-heart, ox-heart.

fig - *Ficus carica* [higuera, the plant; higo, the fruit)

forbidden fruit - a name given to several varieties of *Citrus*, especially *C. decumana* (*C. maxima*, *C. grandis*), pomelo or shaddock, similar to the grapefruit (*C. paradisi*) [toronja]; but also to *C. aurantium*, the sour orange [naranja].

franchepon - *Plumeria* species [alhelí]

ginger - *Zingiber officinale* [jengibre]

grenadilla - *Passiflora quadrangularis* [granadilla]

guava - *Psidium guajava* [guayaba]

guavaberry - *Myrciaria floribunda* [murta, murto] not be confused with the guava; the fruit, yellow-orange or dark-red, contains a small amount of translucent flesh around a seed.

Jamaica plum - *Spondias purpurea* [jobillo, jobo francés]

jasmin de Castilla - Could refer to royal jasmine, *Jasminum grandiflorum* [jazmín de España] or the common jasmine, *Jasminum officinale*

lemon grass - *Cymbopogon citratus* [limoncillo]

mahagua tree - *Hibiscus tiliaceus* [majagua, emajagua]

mamee, mammey - *Mammea americana* [mamey], mammee apple

mango - *Mangifera indica* [mango, mangó]

mangroves - *Rhizophora mangle* [mangle colorado], *Conocarpus erectus* [mangle botón], *Laguncularia racemosa* [mangle blanco], *Avicennia germinans* [mangle negro]; trees and shrubs that grow in saline coastal sediment and form ecologically important habitats in the tropics and subtropics

minionette - *Lawsonia inermis* [resedá], henna tree, mignonette tree

oleander - *Nerium oleander* [adelfa, alhelí extranjero]

orange - *Citrus sinensis* [china]

palmetto - palms of the *Sabal* genus, of which *Sabal palmetto* is also called the cabbage palm

pawpaw - *Carica papaya* [papaya, lechosa]

penca de sabila - *Aloe vera* [sábila]; "penca de" means "leaf of."

plantain - see banana

pope's head - *Melocactus intortus* [melón de costa], also called Turk's cap cactus, barrel cactus, or compass plant (because they tend to tilt toward the south).

rosa de las Indias - not identified

rose […] white in the morning, pink at noon & red at night - Baxter (Book Seven, chapter IV, page 8) identified this as *Quisqualis indica* [corazón de hombre, promesa de hombre, cuiscualis]; not a rose, but small fragrant, tubular flowers, in clusters.

Rangoon creeper, heart o'man, as identified by

sago plant - *Cycas revoluta* [alcanfor, cica, palma de sagú], also sago palm

sapodilla - *Manilkara zapota* [níspero]

sensitive plant - *Mimosa pudica* [moriviví] The leaves close during darkness and reopen in light, also close under various other mechanical stimuli, such as touching, blowing, or shaking.

shaddock - see forbidden fruit.

silk cotton tree - *Ceiba pentandra* [ceiba], also known as kapok, Java cotton, Java kapok

soursop - *Annona muricata* [guanábana]

star apple - *Chrysophyllum cainito* [caimito]

tamarind - *Tamarindus indica* [tamarindo]

Appendix 4.

Emerson family members, their names and abbreviations found in the texts

Adapted from the Massachusetts Historical Society's ABIGAIL electronic catalog, Emerson Family Papers, Guide to the collection.

Charles Chauncy Emerson (CCE) (1808-1836) was the son of William Emerson and Ruth (Haskins). He was graduated with the Harvard class of 1828 and received his A.M. and L.L.B. degrees there in 1832. He served as a lawyer in Boston and was engaged to Elizabeth Hoar (1814-1878) at his death in 1836.

Edward Bliss Emerson (EBE) (1805-1834) was the son of William Emerson and Ruth (Haskins). He was graduated with the Harvard College class of 1824. He studied law, but abandoned the practice due to illness. From 1831 until his death there in 1834, he worked as a merchant in Puerto Rico.

Ezra Ripley (ER, Dr. R) (1751-1841) married in 1780 to Phebe Bliss, the widow of Edward Emerson's paternal grandfather (William Emerson). Reverend Ripley was called "grandfather" by the Emerson brothers.

Mary Moody Emerson (MME) (1774-1863) was the daughter of William Emerson and Phebe Bliss and therefore the paternal aunt of Ralph Waldo Emerson and his brothers. She was a frequent correspondent of RWE and brothers.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (Waldo, RW, RWE) (1803-1882) was the son of William Emerson and Ruth (Haskins). The well known poet, preacher and man of American letters married Ellen Louisa Tucker (d. 1831) in 1829 and Lidian Jackson (1802-1892) in 1835. This second marriage produced four children: Waldo, Ellen Tucker, Edith and Edward Waldo.

Robert Bulkeley Emerson (Bulkeley) (1807-1859) was the son of William Emerson and Ruth (Haskins). Apparently he was mentally disabled and was housed in an asylum most of his life.

Ruth Haskins Emerson (Mother, Mamma) (1768-1853), born in Boston, married William Emerson in 1796. They had eight children: Phebe Ripley, John Clark, William, Ralph Waldo, Edward Bliss, Robert Bulkeley, Charles Chauncy and Mary Caroline. Phebe, John and Mary Caroline died in infancy.

William Emerson (father of Edward B. Emerson, not mentioned in the journal and letters) (1769-1811) was graduated from Harvard College in 1789, and in 1792 became minister of the First Congregational Church at Harvard, MA. From 1799 until his death he preached at the First Church (Old Brick) in Boston. He married Ruth Haskins Emerson in 1796. They had eight children.

William Emerson (W, Wm, WE) (1801-1868), the son of William Emerson and Ruth (Haskins), married Susan Woodward Haven (1807-1868), daughter of John Haven and Ann (Woodward), in 1833. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1818, received his A.M. degree from Harvard University in 1821 and studied theology and philosophy at the University of Göttingen, Germany from 1824 to 1825. He was appointed attorney and counselor in the state of New York, and lived with his wife and three children on Staten Island, New York. In 1841 he was appointed First Judge of the County Courts in the county of Richmond. (Staten Island is now the Borough and County of Richmond in New York City).

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